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HISTORIC PROOF
OF THE
DOCTRINAL CALVINISM
OF THE
CHURCH of *ENGLAND*.

Including, among other Particulars,

I. A brief ACCOUNT of some EMINENT PERSONS,
famous for their Adoption of that System, both
before and *since* the REFORMATION ;

MORE ESPECIALLY, OF OUR
English REFORMERS, MARTYRS, PRELATES,
and UNIVERSITIES :

With SPECIMENS of their TESTIMONYS.

II. An incidental REVIEW of the RISE and PROGRESS of
ARMINIANISM in ENGLAND,
Under the Patronage of Archbishop LAUD.

With a complete INDEX to the Whole.

By AUGUSTUS TOPLADY, A. B.

ASK NOW OF THE DAYS THAT ARE PAST. *Deut. iv. 32.*

— *Antiquam exquisite Matrem.*

“ Logical Arguments, and controversial Reasoning, cannot be well adapted to
“ every Understanding. But HISTORICAL FACTS, and the
“ CONSEQUENCES thence deducible, are, to the meanest Understanding,
“ plain and obvious.” *Bower’s Pref. to Hist. of the Popes.*

I N T W O V O L U M E S.

V O L. I.

L O N D O N :

Printed for GEORGE KEITH, in Gracechurch-street.
MDCCLXXIV.

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FOR Prevention of Mistake, I request Leave to apprize the Reader,

1. *That, in the following Essay, I use the Words, CALVINISM, and CALVINISTS, merely in Compliance with Custom. The Doctrinal System, Established in England, which LUTHER and CALVIN were the Honor'd Instruments of Retrieving, subsisted, from the Beginning, in the Faith of God's Elect People, and in the Sacred Scriptures. But 'Dandum aliquid Con-
'suetudini.'*

2. *I use the Terms, PELAGIANISM, and ARMINIANISM, in their literal and proper Signification : as denoting the System originally fabricated by PELAGIUS, and afterwards rebuilt by ARMINIUS. Tho', in Strictness of Speech, that System should rather be denominated, MORGANISM and VAN HARMINISM : the real Name of Pelagius having been MORGAN, as that of ARMINIUS was VAN HARMIN.*

3. *By the Word METHODISTS, which likewise frequently occurs, I mean the Approvers, Followers, and Abettors of Mr. JOHN WESLEY's Principles and Practices : and them only.—If some Folks, either through Want of Knowledge, or through Want of Candor, apply the Name of METHODIST to such as agree in all Points with the Church of England ; it cannot be helped : nor have I the least Objection to being involved under that Title, in THIS Sense of it. But I myself never use the Term, except in the Meaning above defined.*

4. *Mention is often made of the ANABAPTISTS, and of their theological Enormities. Be it, therefore, observed, That the Anabaptists, of the Sixteenth Century, were a very different Sort of People, from the Baptists of the last Century, and of the current. Consequently, what is observed of the former, does by no Means affect the latter.*

5. *I foresee One Objection, in particular, to which the ensuing Work is liable : viz. That the two PELAGIAN METHODISTS, namely, Mr JOHN WESLEY and Mr WALTER SELLON, whose fraudulent Perversions of Truth, Facts, and Common Sense, gave the first Occasion to the present Undertaking, 'Are not Persons of sufficient CONSEQUENCE, to
'merit so large and explicit a Refutation.' I acknowledge the Propriety and the Force of this Remark. It cannot be denied, that the Church of England has seldom, if ever (at least,*

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since the Civil Wars), been Arraigned, Tried, and Condemned, by a pair of such insignificant Adversarys.—Yet, tho' the Men themselves are of no Importance; the CHURCH and her Doctrines are of much. Which Consideration has Weight enough with me, not only to warrant the Design and Extent of the following Vindication; but also to justify any FUTURE Attempts of the same Kind, which the continued Perverseness of the said discomfited METHODISTS may render needful. I mean, in Case the united Labors of that Junto should be able to squeeze forth any Thing which may carry a Face of Argument. For, otherwise, I have some Thoughts of consigning them to the peaceable Enjoyment of that Contempt and Neglect, due to their Malice and Incapacity. Lord Bolingbroke somewhere observes, that, “To have the last Word, is the Privilege of bad Writers:” a Privilege, which I shall never envy them.

Mr. Wesley and his Subalterns are, in general, so excessively scurrilous and abusive, that contending with them resembles fighting with Chimney-Sweepers, or bathing in a Mud-pool. So they can but raise a temporary Mist before the Eyes of their deluded Adherents, they care not What they invent, nor Whereof they affirm.

6. Let it not, however, be supposed, that I bear them the least Degree of personal Hatred. God forbid. I have not so learned CHRIST. The very Men, who have my Opposition, have my Prayers also. I dare address the Great Shepherd and Bishop of Souls, in those Lines of the late Doctor Doddridge:

Hast thou a Lamb, in all thy Flock,
I would disdain to feed?

But I likewise wish ever to add,

Hast thou a Foe, before whose Face
I fear thy Cause to plead?

Grace, Mercy, and Peace, be to All, who love, and who desire to love, our Lord Jesus Christ in Sincerity.

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- Page 54. Line 19, for *Doctrines*, read *Doctrine*.
 P. 117. In the *Running Title*, for RESTORED, read RETORTED.
 P. 124. l. 34. r. AUGUSTINUS.
 P. 213. l. 16. r. *robatever*.
 P. 221. l. 24. r. *Prævolutio*.
 P. 240. l. 27. (and often afterwards), r. *Tyndal*.
 P. 265. In the *Running Title*, r. ENGLISH REFORMERS.
 P. 267. l. 9. r. approved.
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Such Persons, as have condescended to purchase the Three Sermons, entitled, *Jesus Seen of Angels*, and *God's Mindfulness of Man*; are requested to correct the two following material Errata of the Press: viz.

In the Title-Page to Sermon I. for *Ep. ad Rom.* read, *Ep. ad Trall.*
 Sermon III. Page 73. Line 22. read, *many hundred Years*.

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INTRODUCTION.

BEFORE I enter on the principal Design of the present Undertaking, it may be proper to throw together some preliminary Observations, by Way of Preface; that the main Thread of our Historic Enquiry may, afterwards, procede the more evenly and uninterruptedly.

In February, 1769, I published a Pamphlet, entitled, *The Church of England vindicated from the Charge of ARMINIANISM, and the Case of ARMINIAN SUBSCRIPTION particularly considered*: Which I addressed to a learned and respectable *Oxonian*, who had lately presented us with an Apology for the Arminian Principles; and whose Arguments, against the *real* Doctrines of our Established Church, my Counter-Vindication was designed to obviate.

That Omniscient Being, to Whom “all Hearts are “open,” knows, that a feeling Regard to *His Glory*, and a tender Solicitude for the Honor of *Truth*, were my sole determining Motives to that humble Attempt. I could sincerely adopt the Appeal of Archbishop BRADWARDIN, who wrote on a similar Occasion, and in Defence of the same Doctrines: *Scis, quòd nusquam Virtute meâ, sed Tuâ, confisus, tantillus aggredior tantam Causam* (a). Far, exceeding far, from presuming on any imaginary Abilities of my own; and equally remote from wishing to distinguish myself on the Stage of public Observation; I resolved to conceal my Name: though I could not resolve, by continu-

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ing

(a) In *Pref. ad Libros De Causâ Dei*.

ing entirely silent, to forego my Allegiance to God and my Duty to the Church.

The Controversy had, indeed, been recently in the Hands of a Person, whose Zeal for the Principles of the Reformation adds Dignity to his Rank, and Lustre to his Talents. I mean, the Able and Learned Author of *Pietas Oxoniensis*. And I freely confess, that I was under some Doubt, whether it might not carry an Implication of Self-Confidence, should I glean up, and lay before the Public, a few of those authentic *Facts* and *Testimonies*, the Mention of which had, for the most Part, been omitted by that masterly Writer. Considering, however, that, of old, even those Persons, who had but a Mite to throw into the Treasury, were not therefore wholly exempted from the Duty of Contribution; I fluctuated no longer: but hastily threw together such Observations as then occurred, and, in a few Weeks transmitted them to the Printer. — I have much Reason to bless God for their Publication. That Tract, hurried and unfinished as it was, met with a Reception, which, in such an Age as the present, I could neither expect nor imagine.

Upwards of Two Years after, i. e. In the Summer of 1771, a Mr *Walter Sellon* (who stands in the same Relation to Mr *John Wesley*, as *Celestius* did to *Pelagius*, and *Bertius* to *Arminius*; viz. of Retainer-general, and White-washer in Ordinary) hands a Production into the World, designed to prove, That Arminianism and the Church of England are as closely connected, as the said Messieurs *Walter* and *John* are with each other. The Piece itself is the joint-Offspring of the two associated Heroes. As, therefore, in its Fabrication, those Gentlemen were united; even so, in its Confutation, they shall not be parted.

Arminianism is their mutual *Dulcinea del Toboso*. And, contrary to what is usually observed among Co-Inamoratos, their Attention to the same Favorite Object creates no Jealousy, no Uneasiness of Rivalship, between themselves. High mounted on *Pine's* Rosinante, forth sallies Mr JOHN from

from *Wine-Street, Bristol*; brandishing his Reed, and vowing Vengeance against All who will not fall down and worship the (b) *Dutch Image* which he has set up. With almost an equal Plenitude of Zeal and Prowess, forth trots Mr WALTER from *Ave-Mary Lane*, low mounted on *Cabe's* halting Dapple. The Knight and the Squire having met at the Rendezvous appointed, the former prances foremost; and, with as much Haste as his limping Steed will permit, doth trusty *Walter* amble after his Master.

How successful these Combatants are, in their Attack on my first Defence of the Doctrinal Calvinism of the Church of England, I cheerfully leave to the Decision of the Public. This, however, I may venture to say, that, after a tedious Incubation of Six and Twenty Months, they ought to have hatched an Answer that might carry some *Shew*, at least, of plausible Argument. But even *Craft* itself seems, in the main, to have discharged them from her Service. Here is neither Subtilty, nor Solidity. I am, in Fact, going to encounter a Phantom. No Laurels, therefore, will crown the Conquest. And the poor Phantom should, for me, have stalked unmolested; had not the Importance of the Subject retrieved, in some Measure, the Insignificancy of the Performance.

One of them (for it is not always easy to distinguish the immediate Speaker) charges me with "Crying up the Abilities of some against whom I have written, only that I myself may appear to have greater Abilities of my own, in vanquishing such Able Antagonists." Malice has here forged an Accusation, too ignoble even for Malice to believe. The Brace of Brothers are, indeed, either too blind to see, or too disingenuous to acknowledge, the Excellencies of Any from whom they dissent: else they would never have termed those great Reformers, *Luther* and *Calvin*, a Pair of "*Weathercocks* (c);" nor have contemptuously

(b) Pelagianism was revived in *Holland*, under the new Name of Arminianism, toward the Beginning of the last Century.

(c) Page 11.

styled *St Austin*, the “*giddy Apostle of the Calvinists (d).*” For my own Part, I acknowledge, with Pleasure, the eminent Talents of very many worthy Persons, from whom I differ extremely in Opinion. Mr *Sellon*, however, may make *himself* easy, as to this Particular. Unless he should improve miraculously, I shall never cry up *his* Abilities. I must want common Sense, to suppose him a Man of Parts: and I must want common Modesty, to represent him as such. I can distinguish a Barber’s Bason from an Helmet. Of Course, all the Fruit, to be reaped from the Contest now depending, is, not an Ovation for myself, but the Acquisition of a tributary Pepper-corn to the Doctrines of the Church.

Mr *Wesley* should have lain the Burden of his Alliance on other Shoulders, than those of Mr *Sellon*. The Lot could not possibly have fallen on a more incompetent Man. He is much too *unknowing*, and too *hot*, to come off, with any Degree of Credit, in an Engagement which has foiled so many of the Wise and Prudent. He should have remembered the Example of Dr *Waterland*, and Others.

As the Church is now internally constituted, her Calvinism is impregnable. While *She* lives, *This* is immortal. The Legislature have it, indeed, in their Power (God forbid they should ever have the Inclination), to melt down her Liturgy, Homilies, and Articles; and, when her component Particles are severed by State-Chemistry, to cast her into the Arminian Mold. But, until this is really done, all the Artifice of Man will never be able to fix the Banner of *Arminius* in the CITADEL, how daringly soever some of his Disciples may display it on the WALLS. Our *Pulpits* may declare for *Free-will*: But the *Desk*, our Prayers, and the whole of our Standard-writings as a Church, breathe *only* the Doctrines of *Grace*.

Several respectable Men have reduced themselves to a State of pitiable Embarrassment, in attempting to disprove
this,

this, during and since, what has been properly enough denominated, The Ecclesiastical Reign of Archbishop *Laud*. Had that Prelate been a Calvinist, and had the Calvinists of that Age joined Hands with the Enemies to Civil and Religious Liberty; the Calvinism of the Church of England would, probably, have passed uncontested to the present Hour. But that Prelate attached himself to the new System (and it was *then* very new indeed) of *Arminius*: and, which weighed still more against them in the Court-Balance, the Calvinists were Friends to the Civil Rights of Mankind. They (observe, I speak only of the Doctrinal, not of the Disciplinary Calvinists) were steady to the true Religious and Political Constitution of their Country. They opposed, with equal Firmness, *Laud's* Innovations in the Church, and *Charles's* Invasions of civil Freedom. Unhappily both for the Nation and the Church, and no less fatally for himself, *Charles*, nurtured in Despotism, deemed it his Interest to support the *Arminians*, for Purposes of State. I shall have Occasion, in the Progress of the ensuing Essay, to trace this Evil to its Source.—In the mean while, I return to Mr *Wesley* and his Understrapper: whom though I shall not constantly persist to mention together, but hold them up to View, sometimes singly, sometimes conjointly, as just Occasion may require; the intelligent Reader will not fail to notice, That every Exhibition of Mr *John* involves his Man *Walter*; and that *Walter* cannot be exhibited, without involving Mr *John*.

Monfieur *Bayle* has an Observation, perfectly applicable to the two Furiosos above mentioned. Had the Cap been *made* for them, it could not have *fitted* them more exactly. “In hot Constitutions,” says that able Critic, “Zeal is “a Sort of *Drunkenness*, which so disorders the Mind, “that a Man sees every Thing double and the wrong “Way. The Priestess of Bacchus, who fell upon her “own Son, whom she mistook for a Wild Boar, is an “Image of that *Giddiness*, which seizes the *Zealots* (e).”

I am very far from peremptorily affirming, that Mr *Sellon* is—as intimately connected with *Bacchus*, as was the above Priestess: but his Conduct certainly bears a strong Resemblance of hers. He pretends, that the Church of England is his Mother. Now, his supposed Mother is an avowed, thorough-paced Calvinist. But Mr *Sellon* abominates Calvinism, and yet wishes to be thought a Churchman. What can he do, in so distressful a Dilemma? Necessity dictates an Expedient. Amidst some qualifying Professions of filial Respect, this petty *Nimrod* bends his twelve-penny Bow against Her he calls his Mother; and pretends, all the while, that he is only combating a Wild Beast, which has chanced to find its Way from *Geneva* to *England*.

But the Church, and the Truths of God, have nothing to fear from the Efforts of this Jaculator. *Parthians* might aim their Arrows at the Sun. Wolves may exhaust their Strength, by howling at the Moon. Yet, neither the Weapons of Those could wound the One, nor can the Clamor of These so much as alarm the Other. The Sun persists to shine, and the Moon to roll; unextinguished and unimpeded by the Impotence of Rage and the Emptiness of Menace from below.

I have heard, or read, of a Picture, which exhibited a View of the Apostate Angels, just fallen from their State of Blessedness. Every Attitude, and Feature, were expressive of the extremest Horror, Indignation, and Despair. An Artist, into whose Possession it came; by only a few Touches with his Pencil, transformed the shocking Representation into a Master-piece of *Loveliness* and *Beauty*: so that SERAPHS seemed to smile and sing, where tormented Fiends appeared, before, to blaspheme for Rage, and to gnaw their Tongues for Pain. — Mr *Sellon* has pursued a Plan, directly contrary to That of the Amiable Artist. The Methodist's grand Business (in which, however, he utterly fails) is, to *deform* the Gospel Picture, and to *disfigure* the Beauty of the Church. He labors to metamorphose

phose, if it were possible, the Wisdom and Glory of God, into a *Caricature* equally frightful and ridiculous. But all his Cavils are *infra Jugulum*. They come not up to the Point. Mr *Wesley* and his Auxiliaries resemble the Army of *Mithridates*; who lost the Day, by mistakenly aiming their Arrows, not at the Persons, but at the Shadows, of the Roman Soldiers.

Supposing the Principles of the Church of *England* to be ever so exceptionable in themselves; the Mode of Assault, adopted by the mock-Vindicators, is by no Means calculated to gain its End. The far greater Part of Mankind can readily distinguish *Fury* from *Zeal*, and *Abuse* from Argument. A Writer, like Mr *Sellon*, who dips his Pen in the Common-Sewer, injures and disgraces the Cause he seeks to advance. *The Wrath of Man worketh not the Righteousness of God*. It is so far from being a Part, that it is the very Reverse, of that Righteousness, which the Example of God prescribes, and His written Will enjoins.

I am charged with violating the Meekness I recommend, and with being no less than “*a Persecutor*” of the Arminians (*f*). Aggressors are often the first to complain. When Mr *Wesley* thinks proper to scatter his Firebrands, “*Zeal for the Lord of Hosts,*” and “*earnest Contention for the Faith delivered to the Saints,*” are the Varnish, which his abusive Rage assumes. But if no more than a Finger be lifted up in Self-Defence, the Cry is, “Oh, you are without Gospel Love. You are a *Persecutor* of Mr *John*. You will not let the good old Man descend quietly to his Grave.”

As to Intolerancy and Persecution, I have already declared This to be my steadfast Opinion, that “The Rights of Conscience are inviolably sacred, and that Liberty of private Judgment is every Man’s Birthright.” Yet Mr *Wesley* cannot fully avail himself of this Concession: for, by having solemnly set his Hand to the Articles, Homi-

lies, and Liturgy, of the Eſtabliſhed Church; he comes within the Exception immediately added, and which I here repeat: “If, however, Any like *Eſau*, have ſold their
 “Birthright, by *ſubſcribing* to Articles they *do not believe*,
 “merely for the ſake of temporal Profit or Aggrandize-
 “ment; they have only themſelves to thank, for the lit-
 “tle Ceremony they are entitled to (g).”

It is not neceſſary to be *timid*, in order to be *meek*. There is a *false* Meekneſs, as well as a *false* Charity. Genuine *Charity*, according to the Apoſtle’s Deſcription of it, *rejoiceth in the TRUTH*. The Conduct of our Lord Himſelf, and of the firſt Diſciples, on various Occaſions; demonſtrated, that it is no Part of Chriſtian Candor, to hew Millſtones with a Feather. *Rebuke them ſharply* [*αποτομῶς*, CUTTINGLY], ſays the Apoſtle, concerning the Depravers of Doctrinal Chriſtianity: Wiſh well to their Perſons, but give no Quarter to their Errors. — The World have long ſeen, that unmixed Politenefs, condeſcending Generoſity, and the moſt conciliating Benevolence, can no more ſoften Mr *Wefley*’s rugged Rudeneſs, than the Melody of David’s Harp could lay the North-Wind, or ſtill the Raging of the Sea. Mr *Hervey*, in his famous Eleven Letters, has handled Mr *Wefley* with all the Delicacy and Tenderneſs, that a Virtuoso would ſhew in catching a Butterfly, whoſe Plumage he wiſhes to preſerve uninjured; or a Lady, in wiping a Piece of China, which ſhe dreads to break. Did Mr *Wefley* profit by the engaging Meekneſs of his amiable and elegant Refuter? Nay: but he waxed worſe and worſe. Like *Saul*, he ſtrove to ſtab the Name of that ineſtimable Friend, whoſe Goſpel Muſic was calculated to diſpoſſeſs him of his Evil Spirit. Like the Animal, ſtigmatized in the lviithth Pſalm, he *ſtopped his Ears*, and *refuſed to hear the Voice of the Charmer*, though the Strains were no leſs ſweet than *wiſe*. Every Artifice that could be invented, has been thrown out, to blacken the Memory
 of

(g) See my *Caveat againſt Unſound Doctrines*, P. 17.

of the most exemplary Man this Age has produced. Mr *Wesley* insulted him, when living; and continues to trample on him, though dead. He digs him, as it were, out of his grave; passes Sentence on him as an Heretic; ties him to the Stake; burns him to Ashes; and scatters those Ashes to the four Winds. Rather than fail, the wretched Mr *Walter Sellon* is stilted to oppose the excellent Mr *HERVEY*. And most egregiously hath the living Sinner acquitted himself, against the long-departed Saint! In much the same Spirit, and with just the same Success, as the Enemy of Mankind contended, with *Michael the Arch-Angel*, about the Body of *Moses*.

Every Reader may not, perhaps, know the true Cause (at least, one of the principal Causes) of Mr *Wesley's* unrelenting Enmity to Mr *Hervey*: an Enmity, which even the Death of the Latter has not yet extinguished.—When that valuable Man was writing his *Theron* and *Aspasio*, his Humility and Self-diffidence were so great, that he condescended to solicit many of his Friends to revise and correct that admirable Work, antecedently to its Publication. He occasionally requested this Favor, even of some, who were Enemies to several of the Doctrines asserted in the Dialogues: among whom was Mr *John Wesley*. The author imagined, that the unsparing Criticism of an Adversary might observe Defects, and suggest some useful Hints, which the Tendernefs and Partiality of Friendship might overlook, or scruple to communicate. Several Sheets having been transmitted to Mr *John* (an Honor, of which he soon shewed himself quite unworthy), he altered, added, and retrenched, with such Insolence and Wantonness of dictatorial Authority, as disgusted even the modest and candid Mr *Hervey*. The Consequence was, Mr *Wesley* lost his Supervisorship: and, in Return, sat himself to deprectate the Performance he was not allowed to spoil.

By what Spirit this Gentleman and his Deputies are guided, in their Discussion of controverted Subjects, shall appear, from a Specimen of the horrible Aspersions, which,
in

in "The Church Vindicated from Predestination," they venture to heap on THE ALMIGHTY Himself. The *Recital* makes me tremble. The *Perusal* must shock every Reader, who is not steeled to all Reverence for the Supreme Being. May the *Review* cause the daring and unhappy Writers to fall down, as in the Dust, at the Footstool of of insulted Deity!—*Wesley* and *Sellon* are not afraid to declare, that, on the Hypothesis of Divine Decrees, the Justice of GOD is "No better than the Tyranny of TIBER-
 RIUS (b)." That God Himself is "Little better than
 MOLOCH (i)."—"A cruel, unwise, unjust, arbitrary,
 and self-willed TYRANT (k)."—"A Being void of Wis-
 dom, Justice, Mercy, Holiness, and Truth (l)."—A DE-
 VIL, yea WORSE than the Devil (m)." Did the Exorbi-
 tancies of the ancient Ranters, or the Impieties of any modern Blasphemers, ever come up to This? Surely, if *such* Methodists should finally be converted and saved, we can need no stronger Proof that GRACE is infinitely free, and its Operation absolutely invincible!—Observe, Reader, that These are also the very Men, who are so abandoned to all Sense of Shame, as to charge *me* with Blasphemy, for asserting, with Scripture, that God *worketh all Things according to the Counsel of his own Will*; and that *whatever God wills, is right*.

We have seen their Portrait of the Great and Blessed GOD. Let us, next, hear Mr *Sellon's* Account of *his own self*. This he has tacked to the sag-end of his Work. Be it my humble Office, to rescue so brilliant a Passage from the Ignominy of its present Situation, and place it (where it deserves to stand) in the Front.

"As to *Myself*," says the Arminian, "I make no Scruple
 to tell you, I am what some call an EXOTIC: one (n) def-
 titute

(b) Page 3.

(i) Page 45.

(k) Page 59, 71.

(l) Page 74.

(m) Page 107.

(n) And true enough it is. Mr *Sellon* is, in very Deed, def-
 titute of the said Honor. His EDUCATION was as *illiberal*,

“ *titute of the Honour of an Academical Education. The highest DEGREE I lay claim to, is That of a POOR FELLOW of Jesus College in the University of Christianity (o).*”

Never, surely, till now, did such low, whining Cant ooze from the Pen of Meannefs !

And is the pretended Vindicator of a National Church dwindled, by his own Confession, into an *Exotic*? That his Doctrines are exotic, or foreign and far-fetched, I always knew : but I was, hitherto, not Botanist enough to ascertain the Exoticism of the Man. I hope, in his next Vindication, he will inform us, to *what Class* of Exotic Plants he belongs ; and whether himself be not as *Dutch* as his Principles.

He adds, that he never had an “ *Academical Education.*” I believe him. Nor is he in any Danger of being mistaken for a Man of Learning. He will never frighten his Brother-Enthusiasts with that horrible Bugbear (so alarming to most Fanatics,) called, Human Literature. He does not so much as know the Difference between a *Degree* and a *Fellowship* : “ *The highest DEGREE I lay claim to,*” says this Pigmy on Stilts, “ *is that of a poor FELLOW, &c.*” You should have said, *Of the Foundery College, in Moor-Fields* : whereof Mr *John Wesley* is President, and wherein *Thomas Olivers* the preaching Shoe-mender hath taken his Degree in Ignorance. *That*, Mr *Sellon*, is the College, to which you belong. For into what you cantingly style the “ *University of Christianity,*” it does not appear that you are so much as entered. In Proof of this, I appeal to your Præceptor, Mr *Wesley* himself ; and to your Fellow-pupils, his Followers. Your own Arminian Friends, for whom
you

as are his PRINCIPLES. He was, at his first setting out in Life, a low Mechanic. He then got himself enrolled on the List of Mr *Wesley's* Lay-Preachers. He next insinuated himself into the Favor of a certain Person of Distinction, who (not being endued with the Gift of Foresight) procured him Admission into Holy Orders. And thus he came to wear *Prunella*.

you falsify through thick and thin, will not acknowledge you for a *Believer* (p). However, as you seem to insist on passing for "A POOR FELLOW;" I shall, in the following Sheets, attentively consider what the *poor Fellow* has to say against the Doctrines of the Church of England.

One who has drawn so blasphemous a Character of GOD: and who has, moreover, given the Public so contemptible a Sketch of *himself*, can hardly be thought likely to draw a very favorable Account of his Opponents. His Representation of *me*, in particular, is so very curious, and composed of such contradictory Ingredients; that I must, for the Reader's Amusement, submit it to his View. I had, before, been delineated, by an Arminian Help-meet of Mr Wesley's, as "*sitting in my Easy Chair, and enjoying all the Comforts of Life.*" One would think, that the See of *Durham* had been transferred to *Broad Hembury*, and that the Devonshire Vicar was warmly enrobed in Lawn and Black Sattin.—So much for my *Attitude* and *Enjoyments*. Next for my *Titles*. These Mr Sellon enumerates. I am, it seems,

" A FLAMING Calvinist (q).

" A DRAGON (r).

" An HOOTER (s).

" A VENOMOUS SLANDERER (t).

" A PERSECUTOR, possessing the same BUTCHERLY Spirit that was in Bishop Gardiner; yea, TEN times more (u).

" A PERFECTIONIST (x).

" A malapert BOY, severely scratching and clawing with venomous Nails (y).

" A PAPIST (z).

" A SOCINIAN (a).

" A MAHOMETAN (b).

" *The*

(p) See the *Gospel Magazine*, for March, 1771. p. 135.

(q) Page 77.

(r) Page 117.

(s) Page 17, 18.

(t) Page 38.

(u) Page 31, 52.

(x) Page 49.

(y) Page 79.

(z) Page 118.

(a) Page 84.

(b) Page 18.

“ *The GREATEST Bigot, that EVER existed: WITHOUT ONE GRAIN of Candor, Benevolence, Forbearance, Moderation, Goodwill, or Charity (c).*”

A “ *WILDBEAST of Impatience and Lion-like Fury (d).*”

“ *A MATERIALIST; (e)*” that is, an *Atheist*.

A goodly String of Appellations! And not a little extraordinary, that they should all centre in one and the same Man!—Being so uncommon a Person myself, my *Writings* too must be something singular. Take a Description of them in the Words of the said Sellow: “ *I find Sophistry, Fallacy, false Insinuations, Raillery, Perversion of Scripture and the Church-Articles, Self-Contradiction, Self-sufficiency, Haughtiness, Pride and Vanity, glaring in almost every Page (f).*”

Thus, enthroned in my easy Chair, dignified with Titles, and accurately developed as a Writer; I only want a suitable *Address*, to render my Magnificence complete. And who so well qualified to prepare it, as the eloquent Mr Sellow? Lo, he attends; and, respectfully advancing, pays me the following Compliments: “ *Unhappily daring, and unpardonably bold, thy Tongue imagineth Wickedness, and with Lyes thou cuttest like a sharp Razor. Thou hast loved Unrighteousness, more than Goodness; and to talk of Lies, more than Righteousness. Thou hast loved to speak all Words that may do Hurt, O thou false Tongue (g).*”—Such are the Candor and Politeness of these Methodists. And such are the Arguments, by which they would persuade us that *Arminianism* is the Religion of the Church of England.

These are the Men, that set up for “ *Universal Love:*” who call one another by the cant Names of “ *precious Believers,*” “ *most excellent Souls,*” “ *charming Children of God,*” “ *sweet Christians,*” and “ *the Clean-hearted.*” If their Hearts are no cleaner than their Mouths, they have
little

(c) Page 117.

(d) Page 124.

(e) Page 113.

(f) Page 126.

(g) Page 2, 25.

little Reason to value themselves on their “*sinless Perfection.*”

These are they, who seek to bottom Election on *Faith and Goodness foreseen*. Of which foreseen Goodness, *Humility and Benevolence, Meekness and Forbearance*, are, I suppose, some of the Ingredients. Woe be to those “*SWEET Christians,*” if their Election has no better Foundation than their “*sweet*” Tempers, Words, and Works.

And why all this Torrent of Abuse? The plain Truth is this. I detected Mr *Wesley's* Forgeries, and chastized the Forger. *Hinc ille Lacrymæ*. Hence the Out-cries of *John* himself, together with those of *Thomas Olivers*, and *Walter Sellon*. The Camp of the Philistines gave a Scream, when they saw the levelled Stone penetrate the Brags of their Goliath's Forehead. But of all the Tribe, none screamed so loud, as the frightened *Walter*: of whose Talent at screaming, a Specimen has been exhibited to the Reader.—Let me whisper a friendly Hint to this notable Screamer. If you wish your Scurrilities to obtain Belief, restrain them within the Banks of Probability. Malice, when too highly wrought, resembles a Cannon too highly charged: which recoils on the Engineer himself, instead of reaching its intended Object of Direction.

I might, with the most justifiable Propriety, have declined joining Issue, in Controversy, with a Person of Mr *Sellon's* Cast: who is, by those that know him, deemed Ignorant and Unpolished, even to a Proverb. He is indeed, to borrow the Language of another, “A small Body of Pelagian Divinity, bound in Calf, neither Gilt nor Lettered.” I once hoped, that his Friends were too severe, in branding him with such a Character. But he has been so weak as to publish. He has gibbeted himself in Print. I am fully convinced, that his Friends were in the right, and my Charitable Hope mistaken.

Let none, however, suppose, that I harbor any Degree of Malevolence, against either him or his Master. Whatever I have already written, or may hereafter have
Occasion

Occasion to write, in Opposition to *them*, or to any *Others* on whom the Toil of defending them may devolve; has been, and (I trust) ever will be, designed, not to throw Odium on their Persons, nor to wound their Cause unfairly; but, simply, to *strip* Error of its Varnish: To *open* the Eyes of Delusion: To *pluck* the Vizor from the Face of Hypocrisy: To bring Arminian Methodism to the *Test* of Fact and Argument: To *wipe off* the Aspersions thrown, by the despairing Hand of defeated Heterodoxy, on the purest Church under Heaven: and, to *confirm* such as have believed through Grace.

Indeed, the Purity of my Intention speaks for itself. At a Time of such general Defection from the Doctrines of the Church Established, I cannot possibly have any sinister Ends to answer, by *asserting* those Doctrines. It cannot be to gain *Applause*: for, was That my Motive, I should studiously swim with the Current, and adopt the fashionable System. Neither can it be, to acquire *Preferment*: for, the Doctrines of Grace are not the Principles to rise by. In the Reigns of *Edward VI. Elizabeth*, and the former Part of *James I.* the Calvinistic Points were necessary Steps to Advancement, and led directly to the Top of the Church. But the Stairs have been long turned another Way. What was, once, the *Causâ sine quâ non* of Ascending, is now a *Causâ propter quam non*; or, considered as a Reason for keeping unfashionable Divines as low, on the Ecclesiastic Ladder, as possible.

I bless God, for enabling me to esteem *the Reproach of Christ* greater Treasure, than all the Applause of Men, and all the Preferments of the Church. When I received Orders, *I obtained Mercy to be faithful*; and, from that Moment, gave up what is called *the World*, so far as I conceived it to interfere with Faith and a good Conscience. The Opposition, which I have met with, in the Course of my ten Year's Ministry, has been nothing, compared with what I expected would ensue on an open, steady Attachment to the Truths of God. And what Insults have been
thrown

thrown in my Way, came, for the most Part, from a Quarter equally abusive and contemptible; I mean, from Mr *John Wesley*, and a few of his unfledged Disciples: whose Efforts give me no greater Apprehension, than would a Fly that was to settle on my Hat.

Some Readers may suppose, possibly, that, in the Course of the annexed Treatise, I have handled my Assailants too severely. I request, that such will suspend their Judgment, until they have perused the Performance which gave Rise to the present. Their Opinion, I am persuaded, will then be reversed: and they will wonder, either at my deigning to take *any* Notice at all, of an Invective so exceedingly low and frivolous; or, at my not chastising the Authors of it, with a Severity, proportioned to their Demerits. But, for abstaining from the latter, I had, among others, two Reasons. 1. I should have sinned against Meekness: and, 2. The Poverty of Mr *Sellon's* Talents, in particular, is so extreme, as to render him an Object rather of Pity, than of Resentment. As the Man cannot *reason*, nor even write grammatically, I often allow him to *rail* with Impunity. If a malicious Ignoramus comes against me with a Straw, Self-defence does not oblige me, and Christian Charity forbids me, to knock him down with a Bludgeon.

Moreover, the Period may arrive, when this very Person, as also his Commander in Chief, may see the Justness, and experience the Energy, of those Heavenly Truths, which they now unite to blaspheme. They may even preach the Faith to which they have subscribed, and which they impotently labor to destroy. If having *once* been an Arminian, were incompatible with future Conversion and Salvation; we might indeed ask, *Who then can be saved?* For every Man is born an Arminian. Unrenewed Nature spurns the Idea of inheriting eternal Life as the *mere Gift* of Divine Sovereignty, and on the Footing of *Absolute Grace*.—I will not affirm, that All, who heartily embrace the Scripture-System of Calvinism, are savingly renewed by the Holy Spirit of God, for St *Stephen* teaches us to
distinguish

distinguish between the Circumcision of the *Ears*, and the Circumcision of the *Heart*. Thus much, however, I assert, without Hesitation: that I know, comparatively, very few Calvinists, of whose saving Renewal I have Reason to doubt.—I will even go a Step farther. Sincerely to admit and relish a System so diametrically opposite to the natural Pride of the Human Heart, is, with me, an incontestable Proof, that a Man's *Judgment*, at least, is brought into *Subjection to the Obedience of Christ*. And, to every such Person, those Words may be accommodated, *Flesh and Blood have not revealed this to thee, but my Father who is in Heaven*.

I cannot give the two Pelagian Gentlemen stronger Evidence of my Concern for their Welfare, than by wishing them to renounce those unhappy Principles, which, under Pretence of *extending* the Grace of God, by representing it as a Glove accommodated to every Hand, and which lies at the Option of Free-will either to make use of, or to sling behind the Fire; do, in fact, *annihilate* all Grace whatever, by ultimately resolving its Efficacy into the Power, Merits, and Caprice of Man.—Mr *Wesley* and Mr *Sellon* may find, in Strype's Collections, a Form of Recantation, ready drawn to their Hands. The Historian introduces it thus.

“ Another Letter there was, writ ” [A. D. 1555.]
 “ by One in Prison ” [for the Protestant Faith, during the *Marian* Persecution], “ who had lately been one of
 “ these (*b*) Free-willers, but now changed in his Judgment,
 “ ment,

(*b*) During the preceding Reign of King *Edward VI.* there had been a Congregation of FREE-WILLERS, in some Part of *London*, who were Separatists from the Church of England: and, indeed, all FREE-WILLERS were then accounted DISSENTERS, and openly professed themselves to be such. Certain Salvoes for Duplicity, which have since been adopted, were not then invented. The FREE-WILLERS of that Age were, with all their

“ment, to certain of that Persuasion, in Prison also for the “Gospel.” The Persecution of Protestants was so indiscriminate, that not only the Bishops, Clergy, and Members of the Church of England felt its iron Hand; but even some of the *Free-will Men* (as they were then called), who *dissented* from the Church, and had formed a separate Conventicle of their own, came in for a Taste of the common Trouble. But, though a few of the few *Free-willers* (for their whole number was then exceeding small) were imprisoned for a while, I cannot find that so much as *one* of them either died in Confinement, or was brought to the Stake. If Mr Wesley and his Friend can give authentic Evidence, that so much as a single *Free-willer* was Burned by the Papists, let them point him out by name; and, at the same Time, remember to adduce their Proofs. Such an Instance, or Instances, if producible, will reflect some Honor on the Pelagians of that *Æra*, though unable to turn the Scale in favor of Pelagianism itself. — I now return to the Letter of the *Converted FREE-WILL MAN*. In it, says the Historian, he lamented “the Loss of the Gospel” [i. e. the Revival of Popery by Queen *Mary*]; “Shewing the Reasons of it: whereof one “he made to be, that they” [viz. himself and his *Pelagian Brethren*] “had *professed the Gospel*” [i. e. Protestantism] “with their Tongues, and denied it in their (i) DEEDS: “Another,

Mistakes, too HONEST, either to subscribe to the Articles and Homilies of the Church, or stately to frequent her public Worship. — I shall have Occasion to mention the *FREE-WILL Congregation*, hereafter.

(i) This is one Proof, among a Million, that the Doctrines of *Free-will* and of *Justification by Works* (both which were stilly contended for by these Pelagians, and to which most of them added the Belief of *sinless Perfection*), are NOT Doctrines really calculated to promote Holiness of Life, whatever the Assertors of those Tenets may pretend. Observe: They “were not found in the Doctrine of Predestination;” and “their DEEDS” were so dishonorable

“ Another, that *they were not SOUND in the Doctrine of*
 “ PREDESTINATION. In this Letter, he mentioned
 “ what a *Grief* it was to him, that he had endeavored so
 “ much to persuade Others into his *Error of FREE-WILL* :
 “ and that divers of that Congregation of *Free-will Men*
 “ began to be better informed ; as namely, *Ladley*, and
 “ *Cole*, and Others unnamed : the Report of whom gave
 “ him and his Prison-Fellows much Rejoicing. [Adding],
 “ that he was convinced ” [i. e. converted from being a
Free-will Man] “ by certain Preachers in Prison with him ;
 “ who reconciled *St Paul* and *St James* together, to his
 “ great Satisfaction (*k*).”

A great Part of this choice Letter is published by Mr
 Strype, at the Close (*l*) of the Volume referred to below.
 For Mr *Wesley's* Sake, and for the Sake of Those who are *led*
Captive by him at his Will, I here transcribe the following Pas-
 sages : which may serve him as A MODEL OF RETRAC-
 TATION, in Case it should please God to grant him
Repentance to the Acknowledgment of the Truth.

“ What high Lauds, Thanks, and Praise, am I bound
 “ to give always to God, who hath certified my Conscience,
 “ by His Spirit, that He will not impute my Sins unto me,
 “ for His Son Jesus Christ's Sake, in Whom He hath
 “ CHOSEN His ELECT before the Foundations of the
 “ World were laid ; and PRESERVETH us All, so that
 “ there shall NEVER any of US finally perish or be
 “ damned.

“ I, for my Part, repent, that ever I was so bitter unto
 “ them that were the Teachers of this undoubted Truth.
 “ Verily, I am not able to express the Sorrows that I
 “ have in my Heart : most especially, in that I went about,

C 2

“ by

honorable to a Gospel Profession, as to amount even to a “ *Denial* ”
 of it.—As it was in the Beginning, it is now, and ever will be ;
 generally speaking. *Unsoundness* and *Unholiness* seldom fail to
 walk Arm in Arm.

(*k*) Strype's *Eccles. Memorials*, Vol. 3. P. 247.—Edit. 1721.

(*l*) Ibid. *Append.* N^o XLIII. P. 116—123.

“ by all Means, to persuade Others, whereby they might
 “ be one with me in *that Error of FREE-WILL*.—With
 “ Joy unspeakable I rejoyce, giving Thanks to God,
 “ Night and Day, in that it hath pleased Him to vouch
 “ me worthy his fatherly Correction at this present, shew-
 “ ing me what I am by Nature; that is to say, full of
 “ Impiety and all Evil. Therefore, the great Grief,
 “ which I daily feel; is, because I see the HORRIBLENESS
 “ and the GREAT DISHONOR, that the FILTHY FREE-
 “ WILL of Man doth render unto God. I sigh and am
 “ grieved, because I spake Evil of that Good I knew not.

“ Wherefore, my Beloved, I am provoked by the Holy
 “ Ghost, to visit you with my Letter; hoping, and be-
 “ lieving, that God will give it good Success: whereby
 “ God’s Glory may be the more set forth. For I have
 “ a good Opinion of you, my dear Brethren; trusting
 “ in God, that he will revele unto you the Knowledge
 “ of Himself. For I believe verily, that you be vessels
 “ of God’s mercy: therefore I am assured, that you shall
 “ lack no necessary Article of your Salvation. I have
 “ good cause so to judge of you: not only because God
 “ hath opened his Truth to me alone, but I also see how
 “ mercifully he hath dealt with many of our Brethren,
 “ whom you do know well enough, as well as though I
 “ did recite them by Name. God forbid that I should doubt
 “ you, seeing it hath pleased God to revele himself, in
 “ these Days, to them that heretofore were deceived with
 “ *that Error of the PELAGIANS*, yea, and suffered (*m*) Im-
 “ prisonment

(*m*) It appears from hence, that, in the foregoing Reign of
 King *Edward*, i. e. from the very first Establishment of the Pro-
 testant Church of England, *Pelagianism*, or holding and main-
 taining the Doctrine of *Free-will* and its connected Principles, was
 punished with IMPRISONMENT.—I acknowledge, that such a Me-
 thod of dealing with the “*Free-will Men*” reflects very great
 Dishonor on the Moderation of those Times. It demonstrates,
 however, the *high Calvinism* of the Church of England; whose
 secular

“prisonment in Defence of that which now they detest
“and abhor. God be thanked for them. This is the
“Lord’s Doing : and it is marvellous in our Eyes.

“Like as you have the Truth, as concerning the Pa-
“pists’ Sacrament, in despising and hating that, as I do,
“it is well worthy. So likewise is *Free-will* a great Un-
“truth, undoubtedly.

“I think, that God will receive me home unto himself,
“shortly. Therefore I am moved to signify unto you, in
“what State I stand, concerning the Controversy between
“the Opinions of the Truth of God’s PREDESTINATION
“and ELECTION in Christ. I do not hold Predestination,
“to the End to maintain Evil ; as there be some have full
“ungodly affirmed that we do : God forgive them, if it
“be his Will.—We are sure, that NONE, who have the
“full FEELING OF THEIR ELECTION in Christ, can love
“or allow those Things which God hateth.

“I would wish, that Men should not allow the *Fruit*
“of Faith to be the *Cause* of Faith. Faith bringeth forth
“Good Works, and not Good Works Faith ; for then
“of necessity we must attribute our SALVATION to our

secular and spiritual Governors (among the Latter of whom were the Principal Reformers themselves) could procede, with such extreme Rigor, against the Abettors of those very Tenets, which some modern Arminians, more rash than wise, would persuade us, were, even *ab Origine*, the Doctrines of the Church herself — I must add, that the Usage of “*the FREE-WILL Man*” was very severe, both on the Right Hand, and on the Left. In the Protestant Reign of *Edward VI.* they had been Imprisoned, for being too Popish, in the Articles of Justification, Election, and Grace : all three of which they supposed to be conditional and amissible. In the Catholic Reign of *Mary*, they were liable to Imprisonment, and some of them actually were imprisoned, for not being Popish enough, in the Articles of Image-Worship and Transubstantiation. Their Troubles, under *Mary*, were no more than might be expected. But their Sufferings under *Edward* and the Reformers, were absolutely unnatural and inexcusable.

“ GOOD WORKS : which is GREAT BLASPHEMY against
 “ God and Christ so to do.

“ But, I thank God, I do allow Good Works in their
 “ [proper] Place. For I was *created in Christ* UNTO Good
 “ *Works*. Wherefore I am bound to allow them, accord-
 “ ing to the Scriptures; and NOT to the End to MERIT by
 “ them ANY Thing AT ALL. For then I were utterly
 “ deceived : for *Esfay* saith, *ALL our Righteousnesses are as a*
 “ *filthy Cloth*, and are NOT as the LAW of God REQUIR-
 “ ETH them. Wherefore, I acknowledge, that All Sal-
 “ vation, Justification, Redemption, and Remission of
 “ Sins, cometh to us WHOLLY and SOLELY by the MERE
 “ MERCY and FREE GRACE of God in Jesus Christ, and
 “ not for any of our own Works, Merits, or Deservings.—I
 “ myself could not understand St *Paul* and St *James*, to make
 “ them agree together, till our good Preachers, who were
 “ my Prison-Fellows, did open them unto me. I praise
 “ God for them, most humbly. And yet I cannot be so
 “ thankful for them, as I ought to be.

“ PAUL saith, *Faith only justifieth, and not the Deeds of*
 “ *the Law*. And St JAMES saith, *Faith, without Deeds,*
 “ *is dead*. Here are contraries, to the Carnal Man. When
 “ I saw these two Scriptures plainly opened, I could not
 “ stand against the Truth therein. And thus were they
 “ opened unto me : that Faith only doth justify before
 “ God ; and the Good Deeds, which St *James* speaketh
 “ of, justify before the World.

“ I thank God, that they, who, I thought, would have
 “ been my Enemys, are become my Friends in the Truth :
 “ as, in Sample, by our Brethren *Ledley* and *Cole*, and such
 “ like. If it had lain in THEIR OWN Wills, they would
 “ have been ENEMIES to that excellent Truth which they
 “ do now allow : Praised be God for them. For *it is HE who*
 “ *worketh both the WILL and the DEED*. If He had not been
 “ merciful unto them and to me, and PREVENTED our Wills,
 “ we had been still wallowing in the Mire. The Prophet

“ *Jeremy*

“ *Jeremy saith, Turn THOU me, and I SHALL be turned.*
 “ *Heal THOU me, and I SHALL be healed.* And David
 “ *saith, The Lord hath prepared the Hearts of the Poor, and*
 “ *his Ear hearkeneth unto them.* So that it is the LORD,
 “ *who doth ALL that Good is.* And again, *David saith,*
 “ *Ascribe ALL Honor and Glory to God, who alone is worthy.*
 “ *For no Man cometh unto me, saith Christ, except the Fa-*
 “ *ther, who hath sent me, draw him.* And again he saith,
 “ *All that the Father hath GIVEN me, SHALL come unto me :*
 “ *and him, that cometh unto me, I cast not away.*

“ Therefore, I believe, that WE shall, EVERY ONE,
 “ be PRESERVED and KEPT, in him and for him, ac-
 “ cording to his own Word.—I dare boldly say, with
 “ our Everlasting Saviour Jesus Christ, that ALL THE
 “ ELECT shall be preserved and kept FOREVER and ever :
 “ so then NONE of them shall be damned at any Time.
 “ They, who say, that Any of THEM may be lost for
 “ ever, do as much as in them lieth to make” [i. e. to re-
 “ present] “ Christ UNABLE to preserve and keep them :
 “ denying the Power of Christ, in so saying : For he saith,
 “ *He loveth his unto the end.* Which Love REMAINETH,
 “ and shall NEVER be extinguished or put out : and is
 “ NOT AS THE LOVE OF MAN, which is SOMETIMES
 “ ANGRY and SOMETIMES PLEASED. God, at no time,
 “ is so displeased with Any of his Elect, to the End that
 “ he will deprive them of the purchased Possession, which
 “ he hath laid up in Store for them in Christ before, and
 “ were Elect according to the Foreknowledge of God the Fa-
 “ ther, through sanctifying of the Spirit, unto Obedience and
 “ sprinkling of the Blood of Jesus Christ : Which Lamb was
 “ killed from the Beginning, according to God’s Divine
 “ Will and Providence.—Christ was ORDAINED to
 “ die in the Flesh : and all was for OUR Sins.—Christ
 “ was ordained in this Respect : that the Father, seeing
 “ the Fall of Adam, for that Purpose only he ordained
 “ Christ, to the end that he would PRESERVE A REM-

“ NANT OF THE POSTERITY OF ADAM; even as it
 “ pleased his godly Wisdom.

“ *What, will some say, a Remnant, and not All? St Paul*
 “ *saith, Like as All died in Adam, &c. And St John saith,*
 “ *Not for our Sins only, &c. Ah! will these FREE-WILL*
 “ MEN say, *Where is your Remnant now become? To whom*
 “ I answer by the Scriptures, Whereas Christ shall say,
 “ in the last Day, *Depart from Me, ye Cursed; I know*
 “ *you not* : I pray you, tell me, Did not God know them,
 “ as concerning their Creation, and also their Wicked-
 “ nefs? Yes, verily : but He knew them NOT for His
 “ ELECT Children.

“ The true Church of Christ doth understand these *All*”
 [viz. the *All*, and the *whole* redeemed *World*, mentioned by
 St Paul and St John] “ and all other such like Scriptures,
 “ to include ALL THE ELECT Children of God. None
 “ otherwise, I am sure, that these *All* can be understood :
 “ except we should make the Scripture repugnant to it-
 “ self ; which were too much Ignorance, and too great
 “ an Absurdity, to grant.

“ I affirm, that all they be BLASPHEMERS to God,
 “ that do SLANDER the Truth in Predestination : that
 “ say, *If I be once in, I cannot be out, do what Evil I will*
 “ *or can.* All Such do declare themselves to be Repro-
 “ bates, and Children of God’s Ire and Wrath, rather
 “ than Any of His. For whosoever delighteth in those
 “ Things which God hateth and abhorreth, doth declare
 “ himself to be none of God’s. But, if he BE any of
 “ His, He will GIVE HIM REPENTANCE, for to know
 “ the Truth, by his Spirit. *For the Spirit maketh Inter-*
 “ *cession for the Saints, according to the Pleasure of God. For*
 “ *we know that ALL Things work for the BEST, unto them*
 “ *that love God, who are Called of Purpose. For those which*
 “ *He knew before, He also ordained before, that they should*
 “ *be like fashioned unto the Shape*” [i. e. here, to the Gra-
 “ cious, hereafter to the Glorious, Resemblance] “ of His
 “ Son.

“ And

“And, seeing God hath made All His Elect like to the
 “Shape” [the Spiritual and Moral Similitude] “of Jesus
 “Christ, how is it POSSIBLE, that any of them can FALL
 “AWAY? Whosoever he be, that doth so hold, is against
 “God and Christ; and may as well say, that our Lord
 “and Savior *Jesus Christ* may perish, as any of *Them*:
 “for Christ said unto the Father, *Thou hast loved THEM*
 “*as Thou hast loved ME*. Although Christ spake these
 “Words, to the Comfort of His Disciples at the present;
 “so likewise is it to the Comfort of all Us, his CHOSEN.
 “—— Those that St Paul speaketh of, that God KNEW
 “BEFORE, he meant by it, All His ELECT: and imme-
 “diately he addeth, saying, *Whom He APPOINTED BE-*
 “FORE, *them also He called*; and *Whom He called, them*
 “*also He justified*; and *Whom He justified, them also He*
 “GLORIFIED. *What shall we then say to these Things?*
 “*If God be on our Side, who can be against us?* That is to
 “say, If God have APPOINTED to glorify us and to save
 “us, who can then deny [deprive] Him of Any of us,
 “or take us out of His Hands?

“*My Sheep*, saith Christ, *hear my Voice, and I know*
 “*them, and they follow me: and I give unto them ETERNAL*
 “*Life, and they shall NEVER perish*. O most worthy Scrip-
 “tures! which ought to compel us to have a faithful
 “Remembrance, and to note the Tenor thereof: which
 “is, *the SHEEP of Christ shall NEVER perish*.

“Doth Christ mean *Part* of his Elect, or *All*, think
 “you? I do hold, and affirm, and also faithfully believe,
 “that *he meant ALL his Elect*; and not *Part*, as some
 “do full ungodly affirm. I confess and believe assuredly,
 “that there shall never ANY of them perish. For I have
 “good Authority so to say: Because Christ is my Author,
 “and saith, IF it were POSSIBLE, *the very ELECT should*
 “*be deceived*. Ergo, it is NOT possible that they can be
 “so deceived, that they shall ever finally perish, or be
 “damned. Wherefore, whosoever doth affirm that there
 may

“ may be ANY ” [i. e. any of the *Elect*] “ LOST, doth affirm that Christ hath A TORN BODY (n). ”

The above valuable Letter of Recantation is thus Inscribed : “ *A Letter to the Congregation of FREE-WILLERS, by One that had been of that Persuasion, but come off, and now a Prisoner for Religion.* ” Which Supercription will, hereafter, in its due Place, supply us with a Remark, of more than slight Importance.

To occupy the Place of Argument, it has been alledged that “ *Mr Wesley is an OLD Man.* ” And the Church of Rome is still OLDER than he. Is that any Reason, why the Enormities, either of the Mother or the Son, should pass unchastized ?

It has also been suggested, that “ *Mr Wesley is a very LABORIOUS Man.* ” Not MORE Laborious, I presume, than a certain active Being, who is said to *go to and fro in the Earth, and walk up and down in it (o)*. Nor yet more laborious, I should imagine, than certain antient Sectarians, concerning whom it was long ago said, *Woe unto you Scribes, Pharisees, Hypocrites: for ye compass Sea and Land to make one Profelyte (p)*. Nor, by any Means, so USEFULLY laborious, as a certain diligent Member of the Community, respecting whose Variety of Occupations the Public have lately received the following Intelligence : “ The Truth of the following Instance of Industry may be depended on. A poor Man, with a large Family, now *crys MILK*, every Morning, in *Lothbury*, and the Neighborhood of the Royal Exchange. At Eleven, he wheels about a *Barrow of POTATOES*. At One, he *cleans SHOES*, at the 'Change. After Dinner, *cries MILK* again. In the Evening, *sells SPRATS*. And, at Night, finishes the Measure of his Labor, as a *WATCHMAN (q)*. ”

Mr Sellon, moreover, reminds me (p. 128.) that, “ *While the Shepherds are quarrelling, the Wolf gets into the Sheep-fold.* ”

(n) *Strype*, u. s.

(o) *Job* i. 7. with 1 *Pet.* v. 8.

(p) *Matt.* xxiii. 15.

(q) *Bath Chronicle*, for Feb. 6. 1772.

“*fold.*” Not impossible. But it so happens, that the present Quarrel is not among “*the Shepherds,*” but with the “*Wolf*” himself. Which “*Quarrel*” is warranted by every Maxim of *pastoral* Meekness and Fidelity.

I am farther told, that, while I am “*Be-rating the Ar-minians, ROME and the DEVIL laugh in their Sleeves.*” Admitting that Mr *Sellon* might derive this Anecdote from the Fountain-head, the Parties themselves; yet, as neither They nor He are very conspicuous for Veracity, I construe the Intelligence by the Rule of Reverse, though authenticated by the Deposition of their right trusty and well-beloved Cousin and Counsellor.

Once more: I am charged with “*Excessive Superciliousness, and Majesty of Pride.*” And why not charged with having seven Heads and ten Horns, and a Tail as long as a Bell-rope?—After all, what has my Pride, or my Humility, to do with the Argument in Hand? whether I am haughty, or meek, is of no more Consequence either to That, or to the Public, than whether I am tall or short. However, I am, at this very Time, giving *one* Proof, that my “*Majesty of Pride*” can stoop: stoop even to ventilate the Impertinences of Mr *Sellon*.

But, however frivolous his Cavils, the Principles for which he contends are of the most pernicious Nature and Tendency. I must repete, what already seems to have given him so much Offence, that Arminianism “*CAME from Rome, and LEADS thither again.*” *Julian*, Bishop of *Eclana*, a Cotemporary and Disciple of *Pelagius*, was one of those who endeavored, with much Art, to gild the Doctrines of that Heresiarch, in order to render them more sightly and palatable. The Pelagian System, thus varnished and palliated, soon began to acquire the softer Name of *Semipelagianism*. Let us take a View of it, as drawn to our Hands by the celebrated Mr *Bower*; who was, himself, in the main, a professed Pelagian, and therefore less likely
to

to present us with an unfavorable Portrait of the System he generally approved.

Among the Principles of that Sect, this learned Writer enumerates the following :

“ The Notion of *Election* and *Reprobation*, independent on our *Merits* or *Demerits*, is maintaining a *fatal Necessity*; is the Bane of all *Virtue*; and serves only to render good Men *remiss* in working out their Salvation, and to drive Sinners to *Despair*.

“ The *Decrees* of Election and Reprobation are *posterior* to, and in *Consequence* of, our good or evil Works, as *foreseen* by God from all Eternity (r).”

Is not this too the very Language of modern *Arminianism*? Do not the Partizans of that Scheme argue on the same Principles, and express their Objections against Calvinism even in the same identical Terms? Should it be said, “ True; this proves that Arminianism is Pelagianism revived; but it does not prove, that the Doctrines of Arminianism are originally *Popish*.” A Moment’s cool Attention will make it plain that they *are*. Let us again hear Mr *Bower*: who, after the Passage just quoted, immediately adds, “ On these two last Propositions, the JESUITS found THEIR WHOLE SYSTEM of Grace and Freewill; agreeing therein with the *Semipelagians*, against the *Jansenists* and St *Austin* (s).” The Jesuits were molded into a regular Body, towards the Middle of the sixteenth Century. Toward the close of the same Century, *Arminius* began to infest the Protestant Churches. It needs therefore, no great Penetration, to discern, from what Source he drew his Poison. His Journey to *Rome* (though Monsieur *Bayle* affects to make light of the Inferences which were at that very Time deduced from it) was not for nothing. If, however, any are disposed to believe, that *Arminius* imbibed his Doctrines from the Socinians in *Poland*, with

(r) *Bower's Hist. of the Popes*, Vol. I. p. 350.

(s) *Bower*, *ibid*.

with whom, it is certain, he was on Terms of intimate Friendship; I have no Objection to splitting the Difference. He might import some of his Tenets from the *Racovian Brethren*; and yet be indebted, for others, to the Disciples of *Loyola*.

Certain it is, that *Arminius* himself was sensible, that greatly the Doctrine of Prædestination widens the Distance between Protestantism and Popery. "There is no Point of Doctrine," says he, "which the *Papists*, the *Anabaptists*, and the" [new] "*Lutherans* more fiercely oppose, nor by Means of which they heap more Discredit on the Reformed Churches, and bring the Reformed System itself into more Odium: for they" [i. e. the *Papists*, &c.] "assert, that' no fouler Blasphemy against God can be thought or expressed, than is contained in the Doctrine of Predestination (t)." For which Reason, he advises the Reformed World to discard Predestination from their Creed, in Order that they may live on more brotherly Terms with the *Papists*, the *Anabaptists*, and such like.

The *Arminian* Writers make no Scruple to seize and retail each Other's Arguments, as common Property. Hence, *Samuel Hoord* copies from *Van Harmin* the self-same Observation which I have now cited. "Predestination," says *Samuel*, "is an Opinion ODIOS TO THE PAPISTS, opening their foul Mouths against our Church and Religion (u)." Consequently, our adopting the opposite Doctrines of Universal Grace and Free-will, would, by bringing us so many Degrees nearer to the *Papists*, conduce to shut their Mouths, and make them regard us, so far at least

(t) *Porro, nullum est Doctrinæ Caput, quod Papiſtæ, Anabaptiſtæ, et Lutherani acriùs oppugnent; perque cujus latus eccleſiis noſtris graviùs invidiam concilient, totamque adèd Doctrinam in Odium vocent: ſtatuentes, nullam tam ſædam adverſus Deum Blaſphemiam excogitari aut Verbis proferri poſſe.* *Arminius*, in *Oper.* p. 115. *Lugd.* 1629.

(u) *Hoord*, in *Bishop Davenant's Animadverſions*, *Camb.* 1641.

least, as their own orthodox and *dearly beloved Brethren*. Whence it follows, that, as Arminianism came from *Rome*, so 'it LEADS thither again.'

If the joint-Verdict of *Arminius* himself, and of his English Profelyte *Hoord*, will not turn the Scale; let us add the Testimony of a professed *Jesuit*, by way of making up full Weight.—When Archbishop *Laud*'s Papers were examined, a Letter was found among them, thus endorsed with that Prelate's own Hand: "*March, 1628. A Jesuit's Letter, sent to the Rector at Brussels, about the ensuing Parliament.*" The Design of this Letter was, to give the Superior of the Jesuits, then resident at *Brussels*, an Account of the Posture of Civil and Ecclesiastical Affairs in *England*. An Extract from it I shall here subjoin. "Fa-
"ther Rector, let not the Damp of Astonishment seize up-
"on your ardent and zealous Soule, in apprehending the
"sodaine and unexpected Calling of a Parliament.—We
"have now many Strings to our Bow.—WE have planted
"that soveraigne Drugge, ARMINIANISME; which we
"hope, will purge the Protestants from their Heresie: and
"it flourisheth and beares Fruit in due Season.—For the
"better Prevention of the Puritanes, the ARMINIANS
"have already locked up the Duke's" [of *Buckingham's*]
"Eares: and we have those of our owne Religion, which
"stand continually at the Duke's Chamber, to see who
"goes in and out. We cannot be too circumspect and
"carefull in this Regard.—I am, at this Time, transported
"with Joy, to see, how happily all Instruments and Means,
"as well great as lesser, co-operate unto OUR Purposes.
"But, to returne unto the MAINE FABRICKE: Our
"FOUNDATION is ARMINIANISME. The Arminians and
"Projectors, as it appears in the Premises, affect Muta-
"tion. This we second and enforce by probable Argu-
"ments (x)."

The

(x) *Hidden Works of Darknes*, p. 89, 90. Edit. 1645.

The “*sovereign Drugg*, ARMINIANISM,” which, said the Jesuit, “WE,” i. e. we Papists, “*have planted*” in England, did indeed bid fair “*to PURGE*” our Protestant Church effectually. How merrily *Papery* and *Arminianism*, at that Time, danced Hand in Hand, may be learned from Tindal. “The Churches were adorned with Paintings, Images, Altar-pieces, &c. and, instead of Communion Tables, Altars were set up, and Bowings to them and the Sacramental Elements enjoined. The Predestinarian Doctrines were forbid, not only to be Preached, but to be Printed: and the Arminian Sense of the Articles was encouraged and propagated (y).” The Jesuit, therefore, did not exult without Cause. The “*sovereign Drugg*,” so lately “*planted*,” did indeed *take deep Root downward*, and *bring forth Fruit upward*, under the cherishing Auspices of *Charles* and *Laud*.

Heylyn, too, acknowledges, that the State of Things was truly described by another Jesuit of that Age, who wrote thus: “Protestantism waxeth weary of itself. The Doctrine [by the Arminians, who then sat at the Helm] is ALTERED in many Things for which their Progenitors forsook the Church [of Rome]: as, *Limbus Patrum*; *Prayer for the Dead*; *the Possibility of keeping God’s Commandments*; and *the accounting of CALVINISM to be HERESY at least, if not TREASON* (z).”

The maintaining of these Positions, by the Court-Divines, was an “ALTERATION” indeed: which the abandoned *Heylyn* ascribes to “*the INGENUITY and MODERATION found in some Professors of our Religion*.” If we sum up the Evidence that has been given, we shall find its Amount to be, That Arminianism came from the Church of *Rome*, and leads back again to the Pit from whence it was digged.

The

(y) *Tindal’s Contin. of Rapin*, Vol. 3, Octavo, 1758.

(z) *Life of Laud*, p. 238.

The Mention of *Rome* naturally enough paves the Way for saying something about *John Goodwin*: and the rather, as Mr *Sellon* seriously supposes that I paid his Friend *Wesley* A VERY GREAT COMPLIMENT, when I styled him, which I still do, *The John Goodwin of the present Age*. The GREATNESS of this COMPLIMENT will appear, from the following short Particulars, which some Historians have transmitted to Posterity, concerning the said *Goodwin*.

About the Year 1652, when *Cromwell's* Design of Usurping the Sovereign Power became more and more apparent, a Sett of Visionaries, known by the Name of *Fifth-Monarchy Men* (a), grew very turbulent and conspicuous. Their grand Ring-Leader was *John Goodwin*, the Arminian:

(a) The leading Principle, and the extravagant Spirit, of these double-dyed Enthusiasts, will appear, in Part, from the Titles of two famous Tracts published by them, about this Æra:—1. “*The Sounding of the last Trumpet; or, several VISIONS, declaring The Universal Overturning and Rooting up of all Earthly Powers in England: With many other Things foretold, which shall come to pass in this Year 1650; lately shewed unto George Foster, who was commanded to print them.*”—2. “*Sion's approaching Glory: or, The Great and Glorious Day of the Lord King Jesus's Appearing: Before whom all the Kings of the Nations must fall, and never rise again. Accurately described, according to the Prophets, Christ, and his Apostles, in Three and Forty Sections: By James Freze, Merchant. 1652.*” See GREY's Notes on *Hudibras*, Vol. 2. p. 245.

The *Fifth-Monarchists* were not entirely extinguished, at the Restoration of *Charles II.* “That King, says Bishop *Burnet*, had not been many Days at *Whitehall*, when one *Venner*, a violent Fifth-Monarchy Man, who thought it was not enough to believe that Christ was—to put the Saints into the Possession of the Kingdom,—but added to this, that the Saints were to take the Kingdom themselves; gathered some of the most furious of the Party to a Meeting in *Coleman Street*” [which, by the Way, was the very Part of the Town where *John Goodwin*, at that very Time, privately exercised his Ministry: and it is not improbable

Arminian: who had also rendered himself remarkable, by aspersing the Calvinistic Doctrines of the Church of England, and

improbable; but *Goodwin's* own Meeting-House might be the Place of Rendezvous, to which *Venner* convened his Brother-Conspirators. See *Calamy's Account of the Ejected Ministers*, p. 53. Edit. 1713.] “ There they concerted the Day and the Manner “ of their Rising to set *Christ on his Throne*, as they called it. But, “ withal, THEY meant to manage the Government in his Name: “ and were so formal, that they had prepared Standards and “ Colours, with their Devices on them, and furnished themselves “ with very good Arms. But, when the Day came, there was “ but a small Appearance; not exceeding Twenty. However, “ they resolved to venture out into the Streets, and cry out, *No “ King but Christ*. Some of them seemed persuaded, that Christ “ would come down and head them. They scoured the Streets “ before them, and made a great Progress. They KILLED a great “ many; but were at last mastered by Numbers: and were All “ either killed, or taken and executed.”—*Burnet's Own Time*, Vol. I p. 160, 161. Folio.

Bishop *Kennett* justly observes, that the Fifth-Monarchy Men were “ *The most BOLD and BLOODY of all Sorts of Enthusiasts*.” Complete Hist. of Engl. Vol. 3. p. 225.

Dr *Echard* will, more than any Historian yet quoted, let us into the true Knowledge of the unparalleled Exorbitancies, which marked the Temper and Proceedings of this Species of Fanatics. *Venner* himself was, it seems, a Preaching Cooper: and used to hold forth in *John Goodwin's* Pulpit (that Tub without Hoops,) in *Coleman-Street*. The Topics, on which *Venner* and his Associates usually harangued their Arminian Auditory, were, The Expedience and Necessity of “ *Taking up Arms for King JESUS*.” [I thunder at the Blasphemy,] “ *against the Powers of the Earth, the King, “ the Duke of York, General Monk, &c.* Assuring them, That no “ *Weapons formed against them* [i. e. against their own Sect] *should “ prosper, nor an Hair of their Heads be touched: for one should chase “ a Thousand, and Two put Ten Thousand to flight.* Upon which, “ they got a Declaration printed, entitled, *A Door of Hope opened: “ In which they said and declared, That They would never sheath “ their Swords, till Babylon* (as they called *Monarchy*) *became an*
D “ *Hissing*

and by publishing a *Folio Vindication* of King *Charles's* Be-headers. Yet, behold the Art of this crafty Arminian ! Though the *Fifth-Monarchy Men* were not a little odious and formidable to *Oliver Cromwell*, and though *John Goodwin* was actually at the Head of those odious and formidable Fanatics ; *Goodwin*, notwithstanding, plyed *Cromwell* so assiduouſly with Flattery and Obsequiouſneſs, as to gain no ſmall Meaſure of that Uſurper's Confidence. Even the diſſembling

“ *Hiſſing and a Curſe ; and [till] there be left neither Remnant, Son,*
 “ *nor Nephew : That, When they had led Captivity captive in Eng-*
 “ *land, they would go into France, Spain, Germany, &c. ; and ra-*
 “ *ther die, than take the wicked Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance :*
 “ *That they would not make any Leagues with Monarchiſts, but*
 “ *would riſe up againſt the Carnal, to poſſeſs the Gate, or the World ;*
 “ *to bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Fetters of Iron.*”
 The Hiſtorian then gives a circumſtantial Account of *Venner's* Inſurrection, in Conſequence of theſe godly Reſolutions. But he and 19 others, being at length overpowered and taken, were tried at the *Old Baily* “for Treason and Murder : which being fully
 “ proved on *Venner* and 16 of the reſt ; when Sentence was pro-
 “ nounced againſt them, and Lord Chief Juſtice *Foſſer* ſeriously
 “ charged *Venner* with the Blood of his unhappy Accomplices,
 “ *Venner* impudently replied, *It was not He, but Jeſus, that led*
 “ *them.*—Being ſentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered,
 “ *Venner* and *Hodgkins* were, on the 19th of January, executed,
 “ over againſt their Meeting-houſe, in *Coleman Street.*”—*Echard's*
H. of Engl. Vol. 3. p. 42—44.

Biſhop Kennett affirms, that moſt of the *Fifth-Monarchy Men*, who were executed on Account of *Venner's* Inſurrection, died
 “ *Raving, and threatening Judgment, and calling down Vengeance on*
 “ *the KING, the JUDGES, and the CITY*” of *London*—*Complete*
Hiſt. u. s.

And yet Mr *John Weſley* and Mr *Walter Sellon* are for referring us to the Writings of *John Goodwin* (the very Man who was at the Head of the *Fifth-Monarchy Men*, and whoſe Meeting-houſe in *Coleman Street* appears to have been the Rendezvous and Head Quarters of the Party,) as the School of Orthodoxy, wherein we are to learn what are the “ *GENUINE Doctrines of the Church of*
 “ *ENGLAND !*” *Credat Juceus Apella : Non ego.*

dissembling *Oliver* was, in Part, over-reached by the still more exquisite Diffimulation of master *Goodwin*.

Let not the candid Reader imagine, that my Coloring is too strong, or laid on too thickly. To cut off the very Possibility of such a Surmise, I shall express, what I farther have to observe concerning the sly Fifth-Monarchy Man, in the Words of Others: not forgetting, at the same Time, to subjoin, from Bishop *Burnet*, as much as may suffice to authenticate what has been already placed to *John Goodwin's* Account.

“ The FIFTH-MONARCHY Men seemed [viz. A. D. “ 1652, and 1653.] to be really in Expectation, every “ Day, when Christ should appear. JOHN GOODWIN “ HEADED THESE: who first brought in ARMINIAN- “ ISM among the Sectaries.—None of the Preachers were “ so THOROUGH-PACED for him [i. e. for *Cromwell*,] as “ to temporal Matters, as GOODWIN was: for he [*Goodwin*] “ not only JUSTIFIED the putting the King to Death, “ but MAGNIFIED it as the GLORIOUSEST Action Men “ were capable of. He [*Goodwin*] filled all People with “ such Expectation of a glorious Thousand Years speedily “ to begin, that it looked like a Madness possessing them “ (b).” Such being the Principles of *John Goodwin*, what a Masterpiece of political Cunning must his Conduct have been, which could fix him so tightly in the Saddle of *Cromwell's* Esteem! On the one Hand, *Cromwell* was taking large Strides toward the Throne; and, soon, actually acquired Kingly Power, though (by spinning his Thread of affected Moderation too finely) he missed the Name of King. On the other Hand, *Goodwin*, “ who had long represented “ KINGSHIP as the great ANTICHRIST which hindered “ Christ's being set on his Throne (c),” carried himself fairly with the Protector, who was, every Day, visibly approximating nearer and nearer to that very “ *Kingship*” which Goodwin abhorred as “ *the great Antichrist*” that

D 2

excluded

(b) *Burnet's Own Times*, Vol. I. p. 67.

(c) *Burnet*, *ibid*,

excluded the Messiah from possessing his Right. A little to save Appearances, *Cromwell* canted, occasionally, to *Goodwin* and the rest of the Fifth-Monarchy Men: and, in Return, *Goodwin* as cantingly pretended to be convinced of *Cromwell's* holy and upright Intentions!

It surprised every Body, says *Burnet*, that *John Goodwin*, who had been so furious and active against *Charles I.* should come off with Impunity after the Restoration of *Charles II.* “But,” adds the Right Reverend Historian, “*Goodwin* “ had been so ZEALOUS an ARMINIAN, and had sown “ such Division among all the Sectarys, on these Heads; “ that, it was said, This procured him Friends (*d*)” It has long been universally known and acknowledged, that *Charles II.* himself had been, for some time before the Commencement of his Reign, a concealed Papist: and that he continued such, to the last Moment of his Life. No Wonder, therefore, that *Goodwin's* Arminianism (*e*) atoned for the Rancor and Frenzy of his Political Principles and Behavior. “*Goodwin* had, so often, not only justified, “ but magnified, the putting the King to Death, both in “ his Sermons and Books, that Few thought he could “ have been either forgot or excused: for [*Hugh*] *Peters* “ and he were the only Preachers who spoke of it in that “ Strain (*f*).” Who will say, that *John Goodwin* knew not how to balance a Straw? During the Civil Com-motions, the Ranter kept himself secure, by his Abhorrence of

(*d*) *Burnet*, *ibid.* p. 163.

(*e*) *Goodwin*, however, soon after the Coming in of *Charles II.* trembled for his Neck, and thought proper to lie hid for a Season. The immediate Occasion of which Panic, was this. In *August*, 1660, “ was called in a Book of *John Goodwin* (then lately a Minister in *Coleman Street, London*,) entitled, *The Obstructors of Justice*: written in DEFENCE of the Sentence against his Majesty, *Charles I.* At which Time also, the said *Goodwin* absconded, “ to prevent Justice.” [*Wood's Athenæ*, Vol I Col 882. Edit. 1691.] The Fox, however, at length, ventured out of his Hole, and was not earthed till 1665.

(*f*) *Burnet*, *ibid.*

of Monarchy. After the Nation was resettled, he preserved his Neck, and his Treasons were overlooked, on Account of his Zeal for Arminianism. He had been already serviceable to the Popish Cause, by "*sowing Divisions*" among Protestants: and he was suffered to live, by a Popish Prince who aimed at Arbitrary Power, in Order to his being farther useful in the same laudable Department.

So much for *Goodwin*, as a Politician. A Word or two, Now, concerning him, as a Divine, and an Individual: for it is, chiefly, in these latter respects, that I have honored Mr *John Wesley* with, what Mr Sellen calls, "*The great COMMENDATION*" of being *The John Goodwin of the present Age*.

Dr *Calamy* informs us, that, on the Restoration, *Goodwin*, "Not being satisfied with the Terms of the Uniformity-Act, lived and dyed a *Non-Conformist*. He was a Man by himself: was *against every Man*, and *had every Man almost against HIM*. He was very *warm and eager*, [in] whatsoever he engaged in (*f*)."—The same Writer observes, that *Goodwin* "wrote such a Number of Controversial Pieces, that it would be no easy Thing to reckon them up with any Exactness (*g*)."
If, instead of the Word, *wrote*, we only substitute the Word, *pilfered*; the whole of these two Passages will fit Both the Mr *Johns*, as neatly as their Skins.

A very humorous Circumstance, respecting *Goodwin*, is related by *Antony Wood*. An ingenious Writer of that Age published a Book against *Goodwin*, with this facetious Title: "*Coleman-Sireet Conclave visited; and that GRAND IMPOSTOR, the Schismatics' CHEATER IN CHIEF (who hath long slyly lurked therein) truly and duly discovered: containing a most palpable and plain Display of Mr JOHN GOODWIN's Self-Conviction, and of the notorious Heresys, Errors, Malice, Pride, and Hypocrisy of this Most Huge Garagantua*.—London, 1648." The Title is curious:

(*f*) Account of Ejected Ministers, p. 53.

(*g*) *Continuation*, Vol. I. p. 78.

but the Frontispiece, prefixed, was exquisitely laughable, and most justly descriptive of the Original. “ Before the “ Title,” continues *Wood*, “ is JOHN GOODWIN’s *Picure*, “ with a WINDMILL over his Head, and a WEATHER- “ cock upon it: with other *Hieroglyphics*, or *Emblems*, “ about him; to shew the INSTABILITY of the Man (*b*).” The Writer of the above Piece was Mr *John Vicars*, the famous Author of *The Schismatic Sifted*: who, if he sifted all Schismatics as searchingly as he appears to have sifted *John Goodwin*; the Schismatics of that Age had no great Reason to be much in Love, either with the Sifter, or the Sieve.—What a masterly sifting would such a Man have given to *John Wesley* and *Walter Sellen*! But they must now content themselves with *Goodwin*’s Legacy of the *Windmill* surmounted by a *Weathercock*.

Goodwin had an excellent Talent at Scurrility and Abuse: whereof take the following concise Example. Mr *Nedham* had written two Treatises against him: the one, entitled, *Trial of Mr John Goodwin at the Bar of Religion and Right Reason*: The other, *The Great Accuser cast down*. On which, the inflammable Arminian immediately took Fire, and gave Vent to his Rage in Explosions not the most gentle. He characterized *Nedham* as having “ *A foul* “ *Mouth, which SATAN hath opened against the Truth and* “ *Mind of God* ;” as being “ *A Person of infamous and un-* “ *clean Character for the Service of the Tryers* ;” as “ *A Man* “ *that curseth whatsoever he blesteth, and blesteth whatsoever* “ *he curseth (i)*.” And yet *John Goodwin* is represented as having been, like Mr *John Wesley*, “ *A meek, loving-heart-* “ *ed*” Arminian!—Let me add, concerning the First of these *Johns*, that (among a Multitude of other Refuters) he was taken to Task, in 1653, by the learned Mr *Obadiah Howe*, in a Performance, entitled, *The PAGAN PREACHER silenced (k)*. I question, if any of *Goodwin*’s *Pagan Preachments* are still extant: But such of his *Pagan Treatises* as have

(*b*) *Athenæ*, Vol. 2. Col. 85.

(*i*) *Athenæ*, Vol. 2. Col. 469.

(*k*) *Ibid.* 538.

have reached the present Times, are, I find, the very Bible and Common-Prayer Book of Mr Walter Sellon.— I shall close these Remarks on *Goodwin*, with some of the Encomiums heaped on him by his said Admirer. John Goodwin, saith this sagacious Critic, was a Man “whom
“ Envy itself cannot but praise; a GLORIOUS Champion for
“ the Truth of the Gospel, and for the genuine Doctrines
“ of the Church of England (*l*).” Thus chaunts the *godly* and *loyal* Mr Sellon. The Veracity, the Modesty, and the Propriety of whose Panegyric, may be amply collected from the foregoing Testimonys, which I have produced, concerning the Ranting Fifth-Monarchy Man, *J. Goodwin*.

Mr *Sellon* is no happier, in deducing Conclusions, than in the Drawing of Characters. Witness his judicious Commentary on a Passage of mine, from whence he labors to distil no less than the Doctrine of *Universal Salvation*. In my Remarks on Dr *Nowell*, I testified my firm Belief, that *The Souls of ALL DEPARTED INFANTS are with God in Glory: That, In the Decree of Predestination to Life, God hath included ALL whom he decreed to take away in Infancy: and that the Decree of Reprobation hath nothing to do with THEM (m)*. From these Premises, says Sellon, it follows, that “Mr *Toplady* himself maintains *General Redemption*, and even the *Universal Salvation* of Mankind.” *Logica Selloniana!* As if all Mankind died in Infancy—“Oh,
“ but you quoted *Matth. xviii. 14.* to prove the Salvation
“ of Infants.” True: I did so. Let us review the Text itself. *It is not the Will of your Father which is in Heaven, that one of these little Ones should perish*. Supposing this to be spoken of Infants, literally so called; it certainly proves, that all, who die in that State are saved. “Oh, but our
“ Lord says nothing about their *dying* in that state: he
“ speaks of *little Ones* in general, whether they live long,
“ or die soon.” Does he indeed? Consult Verse 10th. *Take Heed that ye despise not one of these little Ones: for I say*

(*l*) *Sellon*, p. 26.

(*m*) See my *Vindication of the Church of England from Arminianism*, p. 91, 92.

unto you, that their ANGELS [i. e. as I understand it, the SOULS of such of them as die in Infancy] *do always behold the Face of my Father who is in Heaven.* Now, I should imagine it impossible for the *Angels*, or *Souls*, of little Children, *always to behold the Face of God in Heaven*, unless their Souls were previously dislodged from their Bodys by Death. Consequently, according to my View of the Passage, our Lord, in the 14th Verse, speaks of *such* little Ones, and of *such only*, as actually *die* in Infancy. “ Oh, but the Word “ *Angels*, means Guardian Angels, appointed to take Care “ of Children.” Before I can subscribe to this, I must see a Grain or two of that necessary Thing, called *Proof*. That Children, no less than Adults, are Objects of Angelic Attention, in the Course of Providence, I am far from denying. But, in my present Conceptions of the Passage under Consideration, I cannot believe that Exposition to convey the true Sense of this particular Text. Among other Reasons, the following is one. How can those superior Spirits who are (upon very probable Grounds) supposed, very *frequently*, if not *constantly*, to attend on Infants; be yet said to *behold ALWAYS the Face of our Father, in Heaven?* In Order, therefore, to prove, that the Word *Angels*, in this Declaration of our Lord, means Angels, properly so termed; it must be first proved, that Angels, properly so termed, can be present in more Places than one, at one and the same time. “ Oh, but Angels may *sometimes* attend Children on Earth, and at *other* Times be present “ in Heaven.” Likely enough. But the Angels, *here* spoken of, are said *always* to behold the Face, or Glory of God; and that *in Heaven*: an Affirmation, which can never be reconciled to Propriety, or even to Truth, if they are supposed to be *absent* from Heaven, at *any* Period, or on *any* Occasion. “ Oh but if Angels are *long-sighted*, “ they may see into Heaven while they’re on Earth.” I never met with a Treatise on the *Optics* of Angels: and therefore cannot say much to this hypothetical Objection. —On the whole, if “ *little Ones* in general,” whether they

die

die young, or live to Maturity, be (as Mr *Sellon* contends) entitled to Salvation; *his own* Title to Happiness is incontestible. If *little* Reasoning, *less* Knowledge, and *no* Regard to Truth or Decency, be a Passport to the Skys; this exotic Star will glitter there, like a Diamond of the first Water.—In the mean While, I should be obliged to the said Star, if he would, with the Help of Mr *Wesley's* Irradiation, shew me what becomes of *Departed Infants*, upon the Arminian Plan of *Conditional* Salvation, and Election on *good Works foreseen*.

From two Arminians, let me, for a Moment, pass to a third. It will be found, in the following Historical Disquisition, that I have made some Use of Dr *Peter Heylyn's* Testimonys in Favor of the grand Argument. And I admit his Depositions, on the same Principle, by which Men, of the most exceptionable Cast, are sometimes allowed to turn King's Evidence.

PROPERTY OF
PRINCETON

THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY

HISTORIC PROOF

OF THE

DOCTRINAL CALVINISM

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

SECTION I.

Free-willers the first Separatists from the Church of England.—Character and Vindication of King Edward VI.

TIME has been, when *Arianism* was more generally predominant, throughout the Christian Church, than even *Arminianism* is at present. *The Whole World*, says History, *wondered, to see itself become Arian.* It was *Athanasius against all the World, and all the World against Athanasius.*

Hardly were the Clouds of Arianism dispersed, when the *Pelagian* Darkness overspread a considerable Part of the Ecclesiastical Horizon: and its Influence has continued, more or less, to obscure the Glory of the Christian Faith, from that Period to this. Yet is the Eclipse far from total. We have a Multitude of Names, even in our present *Sardis*,
who

who defile not either their Doctrinal or their Moral Garments: and there is very good Reason to believe, that their Number, in this Kingdom, both among Clergy and Laity, is continually increasing.

It is no Novelty for the *Doctrines of GRACE* to meet with Opposition: and, indeed, few Doctrines have been so much opposed, as they. Swarms of fanatical Sectarists were almost coæ-val with THE REFORMATION itself. Such is the imperfect State of Things below, that the most important Advantages are connected with some Inconveniences. The Shining of *Truth*, like the Shining of the *Sun*, wakens Insects into Life, which, otherwise, would have no sensitive Existence. Yet, better for a few Insects to quicken, than for the Sun not to shine.

I shall not, here, review the Tares, which sprang up with the Protestant Corn in *Germany*: but content myself with just observing, that there was ONE Congregation of FREE-WILLERS, in *London*, during the Reign even of the pious King *Edward VI.* and notwithstanding the Vigilance of our first Protestant Bishops.—I say, there was one Congregation of *Free-willers*; or, as they were then most usually called, “FREEWILL-MEN:” and it should seem, that there was then, in the Metropolis, *no more* than ONE Conventicle of this Kind, held by such as made Profession of Protestantism. For, that valuable Letter of Recantation, preserved by the impartial Mr *Strype*, and of which so large a Part has been quoted in our Introduction, was inscribed (as before observed) with the following remarkable Title: “*A Letter to THE Congregation of FREE-WILLERS.*”

London, however, was not the only Place in *England*, where Pelagianism began to nestle, while good King *Edward* was on the Throne. Some of the Fraternity appeared likewise in *two* of the adjoining Counties: viz. in *Kent*, and *Essex*.—Observe, I call the *Free-willers* of that Age, *Pelagians*; because the new Name, of *Arminians*, was not then known. The Appearance of FREE-WILL MEN, in *Kent*
and

and *Effex*, is assigned, by Strype, to the Year 1550. which was Ten Years before *Arminius* himself was born.

“Sectarists,” says the Historian, “appeared now [viz. “A. D. 1550.] in *Effex* and *Kent*: sheltering themselves “under the Profession of the Gospel. Of whom Complaint was made to the Council. THESE [i. e. these “*Freewillers*] were the FIRST that MADE SEPARATION “from the Church of *England*; having gathered Congregations of their own (a):” viz. one in *London*, one at *Feversham* in *Kent*, and another at *Bocking* in *Essex*. Besides which, they used to hold some petty bye-meetings, when a few of them could assemble with Secresy and Safety.

Before we procede, let me interpose a short Remark.—So far is the Church of *England* from asserting the spiritual Powers of FREE-WILL, and from denying PREDESTINATION; that the DENYERS of Predestination, and the ASSERTORS of *Free-will*, were the very FIRST Persons who SEPARATED from her Communion, and made a Rent in her Garment, by “gathering” Three schismatical “Congregations of their own.” Thus, the FREE-WILLERS were the *original*, and are to this Day some of the most real and essential, *Dissenters* from our Evangelical Establishment.

I now return to the Historian: who thus goes on. “The Congregation in *Effex*, was mentioned to be at “*Bocking*; that in *Kent*, was at *Feversham*: as I learn “from an old Register. From whence [i. e. from which “same old Register] I collect. that they held the Opinions” [so far as *Free-will* and *Predestination* are concerned] “of “the *Anabaptists* and *Pelagians* (b).”

These Free-willers were, it seems, looked upon in so dangerous a View by the Church of *England*, that they were COMPLAINED of to the Privy Council: and, for the more peaceful Security of the Reformed Establishment, their

(a) Strype's *Memorials Ecclesiastical*, Vol. 2. B. I. Ch. 27. p. 236.

(b) Ibid.

their *Names* and *Tenets* were authentically *Registered* and *enrolled*.

Mr Strype, after giving us the Names of *Fifteen* of them, adds as follows: "Their Teachers and divers of
 " them were TAKEN UP, and *found Suretys* for their Ap-
 " pearance; and at length brought into the *Ecclesiastical*
 " Court: where they were examined in forty six Articles,
 " or more (c)."—Were (which God forbid) all FREE-
 WILL MEN to suffer equal Molestation in the *present* Age;
 were all ANTI-PREDESTINARIANS to be "*taken up*,"
 "*registered*," "*find Suretys* for their Appearance," and
 at length be "examined in the *Ecclesiastical Court*;" what
 Work would it make for Constables, Stationers, Notaries,
 and Bishops' Officers!

But to resume the Thread. "Many of those, before
 " named, being deposed [i. e. put to their Oath] upon the
 " said Articles, confessed These to be some Sayings and
 " Tenets among them:

"That *The Doctrine* of PREDESTINATION was *meeter*
 " *for Devils, than for Christian Men*.

"That *Children* were not born in ORIGINAL SIN.

"That *No Man* was so CHOSEN, but he might DAMN
 " himself: neither any Man so REPROBATE, but he might
 " keep God's Commandments, and be SAVED.

"That *St Paul* might have damned himself if he listed.

"That *Learned Men* were the Cause of great Errors.

"That God's PREDESTINATION was NOT CERTAIN,
 " but upon CONDITION.

"That *To play at any Manner of Game for Money*, is Sin,
 " and a Work of the Flesh.

"That LUST after Evil was NOT SIN, if the Act were
 " not committed.—That *There* were no Reprobates.—And,

"That *The Preaching* of PREDESTINATION is a DAM-
 " NABLE Thing (d)."

So much for these *Free-willers*, who were the *FIRST Se-*
paratists from the Church of England: and whose *Tenets* Mr
 Strype

(c) Ibid.

(d) Strype, u. s. p. 236, 237.

Strype (though not a Calvinist himself) justly allows to be *Anabaptistical* and *Pelagian*. How exactly do the Doctrines of *Wesley* and *Sellon*, on the Points of Election, Reprobation, and Free-agency, chime in with the hot and muddy Ideas of their Pelagian Forefathers !—I cannot help indulging a very suitable Speculation. What a delicious Pastor would Mr *Sellon* in particular have made, to the FREE-WILLERS of *Bocking*, or *Feversham*, had the Æra of his Nativity commenced about 200 Years sooner ! He would have fed them, not, indeed, with *Knowledge and Understanding* ; but, after their own Hearts. His Lack of Learning, his being “ *An EXOTIC without Academical Education,*” would have been no Impediment to that Piece of Promotion. Nay, the Flock would have liked him the better for it ; seeing, in their Estimation, “ *LEARNED MEN are the Cause of GREAT ERRORS.*” The Spirit of which Maxim, aided by his Blasphemies against Predestination, would have made him (next to FREEWILL itself) the very Idol of the Sect.

O tibi præteritos referat si Jupiter Annos !

Instead of being, as now, Mr *John Wesley*’s Pack-horse, you might have sat up for yourself : and, as a Reward for your meritorious Denial of ELECTION, been elected Tub Orator to the Pelagians of *Feversham*, or *Bocking*.

From such Samples, as History has recorded, of the Vigor (not to say, the Rigor,) with which *Free-will men* were proceeded against, in the Days of *Edward VI.* under whom the Reformation of the Church was accomplished ; it necessarily and unanswerably follows, that the Church herself was reformed from Popery to *Calvinism*, and HELD those Predestinarian Doctrines, which she punished (or, more properly, persecuted) the Pelagians for DENYING.

The Persons, who bore the main Sway in Church and State, at the Time last referred to, were The King, the Duke of *Somerset*, and Archbishop *Cranmer*. Over and above the *Matters of FACT*, in which that illustrious Triumvirate were concerned, and which neither would nor could have

have been directed into such a Channel, had not those Personages, been Doctrinal Calvinists; there are also incontestable *written* EVIDENCES, to prove that They were, conscientiously and upon inward Principle, firm Believers of the Calvinistic Doctrines. This shall be proved of *Cranmer*, in its proper Place, when I come to treat of the Reformers. The same will sufficiently appear, as to *Somer-set*, under the Section which is to treat of the Influence which CALVIN had on the English Reformation. The Epistolary Intimacy, which subsisted between *Calvin* and *Somer-set*; the high Veneration, in which that foreign Reformer was held by the latter; and the Readiness, with which the first Liturgy was altered, in Consequence of the same Reformer's Application; plainly demonstrate, that the Duke of *Somer-set*, no less than his Royal Nephew King *Edward*, and good Archbishop *Cranmer*, had (happily for the Church) heartily adopted *Calvin's* Doctrine, though (no less happily) not profelyted to *Calvin's* favorite Form of Ecclesiastical Regimen.—To these Considerations, let me add another: drawn from that most excellent Prayer, written by himself, upon his being declared Protector of the Realm, and Governor of the King's Person during his Majesty's Minority. It is entitled, "*The Lord Protector's Prayer for God's Assistance in the High Office of Protector and Governor, now committed to him (e).*" A Man of the Duke's extraordinary Piety can never be thought to trifle with God, and to *prevaricate* on his Knees. The Prayer itself, therefore, proves him to have been a Calvinist. Part of it runs thus. "Lord God of Hosts, in whose ONLY Hand is Life and Death, Victory and Confusion, Rule and Subjection;—I am the Price of thy Son's Death: for thy Son's Sake thou wilt not lose [i. e. lose] me. I am a VESSEL for thy MERCY: thy Justice will not condemn me. I am RECORDED in the BOOK OF LIFE; I am WRITTEN with the very Blood of Jesus: thy

(e) See *Strype's Repository of Originals*, annexed to the second Vol. of *Eccles. Memor.* p. 18.

“ thy inestimable Love WILL NOT then CANCEL my Name.
 “ For this Cause, Lord God, I am bold to speak to thy
 “ Majesty. Thou, Lord, by thy PROVIDENCE, hast
 “ called me to Rule: make me therefore able to follow
 “ thy Calling. Thou, Lord, by thine ORDER, hast com-
 “ mitted an Anointed King to my Governance: direct
 “ me therefore with thine Hand, that I err not from thy
 “ good Pleasure. Finish in me, Lord, thy Beginning:
 “ and begin in me That thou wilt finish (e).”—When
 this illustrious Peer fell, afterwards, a Sacrifice to the
 Machinations and State-Intrigues of *Warwick* (who, him-
 self, within a short Time, paid dearly for his Infidiousness
 and Ambition;) He, i. e. *Somerſet*, during his Imprison-
 ment in the Tower, and a little before his Death, “ tran-
 “ slated, out of French into English, an Epistle wrote
 “ to him by JOHN CALVIN, [on the Subject] of *Godly*
 “ *Conversation*, which he received while under his Con-
 “ finement, and was printed at London (f).”

As to the Calvinism of King *Edward* himself, every
 Religious Transaction of his Reign sets it beyond a Doubt.
 The Reformation of the Church upon the Principles she
 still professes, might suffice to comprehend all Proofs in
 one.—But this excellent Prince was not content to esta-
 blish the Church of *England*. He himself voluntarily and
 solemnly SUBSCRIBED her Articles. “ *A Book, containing*
 “ *these ARTICLES, was SIGNED by the King's OWN*
 “ *HAND (g).*” And Edward was too sincere a Christian,
 to *sign* what he did not believe: a Species of Prevarication,
 reserved for the more accomplished Iniquity of after-times;
 and which bids fair to end in the utter Extirpation of all
 Religion from amongst us.

Neither would King *Edward* have honored what is com-
 monly called *Ponet's* Catechism (of which, more hereafter)

E

with

(e) See *Strype's Repository of Originals*, annexed to the second
 Vol. of *Ecclis. Memor.* p. 18.

(f) *Collins's Peerage*, Vol. I. p. 160.—Edit. 1758.

(g) *Strype's Eccles. Mem.* Vol. 2. p. 368.

with his own prefixed Letters of Recommendation, had his Majesty not been a thorough Calvinist.—Nor would he, just before the Agonies of Death came upon him, have set his Seal, as he did, to the *Doctrine of ELECTION*, had not that Doctrine been an essential and predominant Article of his Faith. “*Lord God,*” said the Royal Saint, a little before he expired, “*deliver me out of this miserable and wretched Life, and take me among THY CHOSEN (b)*”

I unwillingly descend from one of the most wonderful and valuable Princes that ever adorned a Throne, to the meanest and most rancorous Arminian Priest that ever disgraced a Surplice. How extreme, how immense the Transition, from King EDWARD VI. to Mr *Walter Sellon*!—But I must let the Reader see, in what Way this Factor for Methodism pretends to account for the Calvinistic Measures of King *Edward*’s Administration. Even thus. “*Some rigid Calvinists in Power had imposed upon that good young King, and made Use of his Authority to impose their Notions upon the Church*” (Sell. p. 53). A certain Sort of People stand in particular Need of good Memories. Mr. *Sellon*’s forsakes him in the very next Page: where the “*SOME rigid Calvinists*” are dwindled into ONE. “*Up starts rigid Poynt, and gets poor young King Edward, whom he had brought to his Lure to command all Schoolmasters within his Dominions to teach the Youth this Catechism*” (ibid. p. 54). What is this, but calling “*poor young King EDWARD*” a poor young FOOL? An Insinuation as false and unjust to the real Character of that extraordinary Prince, as I should be guilty of, were I to insinuate that Mr *Sellon* is a Man of Sense, Learning, and Good Manners.—But supposing we should, for a Moment, admit (contrary to all Fact and Truth,) that the “*poor young King*” was indeed a flexible Piece of Tape, which *Poynt*, Bishop of *Winchester*, could easily twist round his Finger at Pleasure; yet, can it be imagined, that *Poynt* was

(b) Burnet’s *Hist. of the Reformation*, Vol. 2. p. 212.

was an absolute *Monopolizer* of the Tape-Royal? Was he the *only* Haberdasher, who made Property of the said Tape? Could not a Soul beside, come in for a Yard or two? Where (for Instance) were *Cranmer*, and *Ridley*, and *Hoper*, and *Latimer*? Was it possible, that a Transaction of such Consequence to the Church of England, as the Public Sanction of Ponet's Catechism, could take Effect, without the Participation and Concurrence of the *other* English Bishops, and of the *Convocation*, and of the King's *Council* itself? Every reasonable Man will say, No. — Besides: however liable to Imposition "*poor young King*" EDWARD may be represented, by the Arminians of the present Age; yet, surely, His Majesty's next Successor but one (under whom, that same Catechism was revived, and published with Enlargements, by Dr *Nowel*, Dean of *London*) cannot be thought to have been very soft and pliable. But, I dare say, Mr Sellon, by Way of Answer to this Remark, will content himself with crying out, POOR *young Queen ELIZABETH*!

King *Edward* was by no Means that ductile, undiscerning Prince, for which Mr Sellon's Cause requires him to pass. As this Defamer, under the Impulse of his Inspirer, Mr *Wesley*, has thought proper to fasten this Obliquity on that King's Memory, I shall give a short Summary of his Character, drawn by the best Authorities: and the rather, as *Edward's* Reputation is very closely interwoven with the Credit of the Church of England, which chiefly owes her present Purity and Excellence to the pious and paternal Authority of that young, but most respectable *Josiah*.

Bishop *Latimer* had the Honor to know him well: and no Man was ever less prone to flatter, than that honest, unpolished Prelate. "Blessed," said he, "is the Land, " where there is a noble King: where Kings be no Ban-
 " quetters, no Players, and where they spend not their
 " Time in Hunting and Hawking. And when had the
 " King's Majesty a Council, that took more Pains, both
 " Night and Day, for the setting forth of God's Word,

“ and Profit of the Common-Wealth ? And yet there be
 “ some wicked People that will say ” [and there are still
 some wicked Pelagians who CONTINUE to say,] “ *Tush,*
 “ *this Gear will not tarry ; it is but my Lord Protector’s and*
 “ *my Lord of Canterbury’s Doing : the King is a Child, and*
 “ *he knoweth not of it.* Jesu, have Mercy ! how like are
 “ we Englishmen to the Jews, ever stubborn, stiff-necked,
 “ and walking in bye Ways !—Have not we a noble
 “ King ? was there ever King so noble, so godly brought
 “ up, with so noble Counsellors, so excellent and well-
 “ learned School-masters ? I will tell you this, and speak
 “ it even as I think. His Majesty hath more godly WIT
 “ and UNDERSTANDING, more LEARNING and KNOW-
 “ LEDGE, at this Age, than twenty of his Progenitors,
 “ that I could name, had at any Time of their Life (i).”

Bishop *John Bale*, the Antiquarian, could also speak of
 the King upon personal Knowledge : and his Testimony
 is this. “ He is abundantly replenished with the most
 “ gracious Gifts of God : especially, with all Kinds of
 “ good Learning, far above all his Progenitors, Kings of
 “ this Imperial Region.—The Childhood of Youth is not
 “ in him to be reproved : for so might King *Josias* have
 “ been reproved, who began his Reign in the Eighth Year
 “ of his Age.” The Occasion of *Bale’s* thus vindicating
 King *Edward*, was the Petulance of one whom he styles
 “ *a frantic Papist of Hampshire,*” who had insolently termed
 his Majesty “ *A poor Child :*” which was much the same
 with Mr *Sellon’s* contemptuous Language of, *poor young*
King Edward.—Mr *STRYPE*, to whom I am indebted for
 the above Quotation from *Bale*, goes on : “ Then he [i. e.
 “ *Bale*] comes closer to this Papist, so blasphemously re-
 “ porting the Noble and Worthy King *Edward*, then in
 “ the Fifteenth Year of his Age, and the Fifth of his
 “ Reign.—*Bale* added : His [Majesty’s] worthy Education
 “ in Liberal Letters, and godly Virtues, and his natural
 “ Aptness

“ Aptness in Retaining of the same, plenteously declared
 “ him to be no *poor Child*, but a manifest *Solomon* in princely
 “ Wisdom (*k*).”

Even Bishop *Burnet* offers the following Chaplet at *Edward's Tomb*: “ Thus died King *Edward VI.* that
 “ incomparable young Prince. He was then in the Six-
 “ teenth Year of his Age, and was counted the Wonder
 “ of that Time. He was not only Learned in the
 “ Tongues, and other Liberal Sciences, but knew well
 “ the State of his Kingdom. He kept a Book, in which he
 “ writ the Characters that were given him of all the chief
 “ Men of the Nation, all the Judges, Lord-Lieutenants,
 “ and Justices of the Peace, over *England*: in it he had
 “ marked down their Way of Living, and their Zeal for
 “ Religion. He had studied the Matter of the Mint,
 “ with the Exchange and Value of Money; so that he
 “ understood it well: as appears by his Journal. He also
 “ understood Fortification, and designed well. He knew
 “ all the Harbors and Ports, both of his own Dominions,
 “ and of *France* and *Scotland*; and how much Water they
 “ had, and what was the Way of coming into them. He
 “ had acquired great Knowledge in foreign Affairs; so
 “ that he talked with the Embassadors about them, in
 “ such a Manner, that they [*viz.* the foreign Embassa-
 “ dors] filled all the World with the highest Opinion of
 “ him that was possible: which appears in most of the
 “ Histories of that Age. He had great Quickness of Ap-
 “ prehension: and, being mistrustful of his Memory,
 “ used to take Notes of almost every Thing he heard. He
 “ writ these, first, in *Greek* Characters, that those about
 “ him might not understand them: and, afterwards, writ
 “ them out in his Journal. He had a Copy brought him
 “ of every Thing that passed in Council: which he put
 “ in a Chest, and kept the Key of that always himself.—
 “ In a Word, the natural and acquired Perfections of his

“ Mind were wonderfull. But his Virtues and true Piety
 “ were yet more extraordinary (1).”

Mountagu, Bishop of *Winchester*, in his Preface to the Works of King *James I.* makes very observable Mention of *Edward*, considered even as a Writer. “ *Edward the*
 “ *Sixt*, though his Dayes were so short, as he could not
 “ give full Prooffe of those singular Parts that were in him ;
 “ yet he wrote divers Epistles and Orations, both in *Greek*
 “ and *Latin*. He wrote a Treatise *De Fide*, to the Duke
 “ of *Somerfet*. He wrote an History of his Owne Time.
 “ Which are all yet extant, under his owne Hand, in
 “ the King’s Library, as Mr *Patrick Young*, his Majestie’s
 “ Learned Bibliothecarius, hath shewed u. e. And, which
 “ is not to bee forgotten, so diligent an Hearer of sermons
 “ was that sweet Prince, that the Notes, of the most of
 “ the sermons he heard, are yet to bee seene, under his
 “ owne Hand ; with the Preacher’s Name, the Time,
 “ and the Place, and all other Circumstances (n).”

It were endless, to adduce the Praises, which have been deservedly accumulated on this most Able and most Amiable Monarch. But I must not overpass the Character given of him by *Jerom Cardan*, the famous *Italian* Physician, who, the Year preceding King *Edward*’s Death, spent some Months in *England*. That Foreigner, amidst all his acknowledged Oddities, was still a Person of very extraordinary Genius and Learning : so that his Ability, to judge of the King’s Capacity and Attainments, is indisputable. And the Consideration of his being also a Papist, will not suffer us to suppose, that his Eulogiums have any Mixture of party Prejudice in this Prince’s Favor. Moreover, *Cardan* wrote and published his Testimony, in a Country, and at a Time, which rendered it (n) impossible

(1) Burnet’s *Hist. of the Reform.* Vol. 2. p. 212. & alibi.

(n) Bp *Mount.* u. s. Edit. 1616.

(n) *Cardan* refused to offer the Incense of (what he thought would have been) Adulation, to King *Edward*, even in that Prince’s

sible for him to have any sinister Interest in view. “ All
 “ the Graces,” says he, “ were apparent in King Edward :
 “ and, for the Tongues, he was not only exact in the
 “ *English, French, and Latin* ; but understood the *Greek*
 “ *Italian, and Spanish*. Nor was he ignorant of *Logic*,
 “ the Principles of *Natural Philosophy*, or *Music* : being
 “ apt to learn every Thing. The Sweetness of his Tem-
 “ per was such as became a Mortal : his Gravity becom-
 “ ing the Majesty of a King ; and his Disposition suitable
 “ to his high Degree. In short, that Child was so bred,
 “ had such Parts, and was of such Expectation, that he
 “ looked like a Miracle of a Man. These Things are not
 “ spoken rhetorically, and beyond the Truth ; but are
 “ indeed short of it.—He began to love the Liberal Arts,
 “ before he knew them ; to know them, before he could
 “ use them. And in him there was such an Effort of Na-
 “ ture, that not only England, but the World, has Rea-
 “ son to lament his being so early snatched away. How
 “ truly was it said, of such extraordinary Persons, that
 “ their lives are short ! He gave us an Essay of Virtue,
 “ though he did not live to give us a Pattern of it. When
 “ the Gravity of a King was needful, he carried himself
 “ like a Man in Years : and yet was always affable and
 “ gentle, as became his Youth.—In Bounty he emulated
 “ his Father, who in some Cases may appear to have been
 “ bad : but there was no Ground for suspecting any such
 “ Thing

E. 4.

Prince's Life-time, and during his [Cardan's] Residence at the English Court. Much less would he be induced to fawn upon his Memory. The Philosopher's Conduct on that Occasion, though it resulted from a mistaken Principle, reflects some Honour on his Integrity and Disinterestedness. *I refused, says he, a Purse of Five Hundred Pieces (some tell me, it was a Thousand ; but I cannot ascertain the precise Sum,) because I would not acknowledge one of the King's Titles, in Prejudice of the Pope's Authority.*—See BAYLE's Dict. Vol. 2. p. 316. Note [D].

“ Thing in the Son, whose Mind was cultivated by the
 “ Study of Philosophy (*c*).”

Mr Guthrie's Character of him is far from being excessive. The Outlines of *Edward's* Portrait, as drawn by the masterly Hand of that able Historian, shall terminate our present Review of this Great Prince. “ *Henry VIII.*
 “ was the *Romulus*, and EDWARD VI. the NUMA POM-
 “ PILIUS, of English Reformation. The former laid
 “ its Foundations in Blood and Rapine; the latter reared
 “ its Fabric, by Justice and Moderation.—Learning is
 “ the most trifling Part of *Edward's* Character. The Rod
 “ may make a Scholar: but Nature must form a Genius.
 “ *Edward* had Genius. His Learning, indeed, was ex-
 “ traordinary: but in that he was equalled, if not exceli-
 “ ed, by others of equal Years, and of a different Sex.
 “ Perhaps, his Sister *Elizabeth*, and his designed Successor,
 “ the Lady *Jane Gray*, at his Age, knew the Languages
 “ better than he did. But Edward discovered a Genius
 “ for Government, beyond what, perhaps, ever was
 “ known in so early a Bloom of Life.—He soon fell in
 “ with those Walks of Knowledge, which lead to the
 “ Glory and Happiness both of Prince and People.—He
 “ understood the Principles of Trade, and the true
 “ Maxims which the English ought to pursue with foreign
 “ Countries, to much greater Perfection, than any Author
 “ who wrote at that Time on those Subjects. The Pa-
 “ pers which remain in his Writing, concerning a Mart,
 “ and the Reformation of Abuses, might be suspected not
 “ to be of his Composition, did we know of any Person,
 “ in those Days, who could write so clearly and intelli-
 “ gibly, and, by Consequence, so elegantly.—His Jour-
 “ nal contains, so far as it goes, an Account of all the
 “ important Transactions falling within it; penned in
 “ such a Manner, as amply proves its Author to have
 “ known the Bottom of every Subject he touches.—His
 “ perpetual Attention to Commerce gave him, towards
 “ the

“ the End of his Reign, a true Notion of that Conduct,
 “ which *England* ought to pursue, in those Disputes upon
 “ the Continent, which endanger the Balance of Power
 “ there. It helped him to form great Schemes for the
 “ Improvement of his Maritime Force, for the Security
 “ of his Coasts, for the Protection of his Ships: and, in
 “ his Project of opening free Marts in England, there is
 “ somewhat that points towards introducing a new and
 “ a better System of Mercantile Affairs, than has yet, per-
 “ haps, been pursued.—He acquired a Taste for elegant
 “ Magnificence: and, in this, he seems to have been
 “ single in his Court. His Appearances, on public Oc-
 “ casions, were sometimes, perhaps, too Eastern: but he
 “ seems to have corrected this Extravagance, by striking
 “ off a great deal of useless Expence.—Had Providence
 “ been so well reconciled to England, as to have indulged
 “ *Edward* in a longer Reign; he had private Virtue, suf-
 “ ficient to have brought private Virtue once more into
 “ Reputation: while his Judgment was so strong, as, at
 “ once, to re-animate and employ the publick Spirit of
 “ his People.—The Application of this Royal Youth laid
 “ the Corner-stones, on which the Commerce of England
 “ is founded, and which alone gives her the Rank of a
 “ Queen among Nations. It was his Piety, that purged
 “ her Religion from Superstition; it was his good Sense,
 “ getting the better of his Prejudices, that saved her Pos-
 “ sessions from Ruin, and rescued her Clergy from Con-
 “ tempt. It was his Example, which fired the young
 “ Nobility and Gentry of his own Years, with that gene-
 “ rous Emulation, which pushed them into every glorious
 “ Pursuit, when their manly Qualities, in a following
 “ Reign [viz. in the Reign of *Elizabeth*,] raised their droop-
 “ ing Country to Glory and to Empire. It is owing to
 “ *Edward*’s Compassion, that, at this Day, in England’s
 “ Capital, the helpless Orphan finds a Father; that erring
 “ Youth are provided with Instruction; and that Heaven
 “ receives the Sounds of Praise and Gratitude from the
 “ Mouth

“ Mouth of the Infant. His Wisdom prepared a Check
 “ for the Intemperate, and Correction for the Idle. His
 “ Cares make gray Hairs go down, without Sorrow, to
 “ the Grave. His Bounty embellishes those Places,
 “ which his Charity endowed. And his own Person was
 “ the Habitation where Love and Learning, the Graces
 “ and the Virtues, delighted to dwell (p).”

Let me just add, that whoever has read King *Edward's* Treatise against the Supremacy of the Bishops of *Rome* (published at *London*, in 1682;) will cease to be surprized at that Admiration, with which the English Historians celebrate the Pains and Piety of the Royal Author. The Merits of that Performance, in particular, are so transcendent; that a most ingenious Acquaintance of mine once doubted, whether it was possible for so young a Prince to be the Composer of so learned and masterly a Work. But my Friend (eminent for possessing one of the finest Collections of Natural and Artificial Curiosities, that ever fell to the Lot of a private person) has been so happy as to add to his Treasures the Original Manuscript, in *Edward's* own Hand-writing: which places the Authenticity of the Book above Dispute.

Judge now, whether *Edward*, thus endued with the whole Circle of Princely Qualifications, could be that weak, supple, facile, waxen Image of a King, which Mr *Wesley's* Malice and Mr *Sellon's* Ignorance combine to represent. In trying at which, they not only violate all Historic Truth, but labor also to blacken the Church of England; by defaming the Protestant Monarch who was, under God, its Father and visible Head: a Monarch, who, like *Alfred*, was born for the Good of Mankind; and the Lustre of whose Crown was eclipsed by the Virtues of him that wore it. King *Edward's* being a Calvinist, is the unpardonable Crime, for which Arminian Methodism seeks to lay his Memory in the Dust. Under him it was, that
 the

the *English Liturgy* was compiled, reformed, and perfected; the *Hemilies* composed; the *Articles of Religion* framed; and *Ponet's Catechism* drawn up: which two Latter, viz. the *Articles* and the said *Catechism*, "were in general RECEIVED" and SUBSCRIBED to, all over the Kingdom (q)." These were the Crimes of *Edward* and his Reforming Bishops: for which, *Peter Heylin*, *John Wesley*, and *Walter Sellon*, labor to heap Odium on the best of Princes and the best of Prelates.

SECTION II.

ARMINIANISM charged and proved on the Church of ROME.

MR *Sellon* acknowledges his absolute Inequality to the Task he has undertaken. "*I know nothing at all,*" says he, "*how to FENCE or PUSH (r):*" i. e. He can neither attack, nor defend. A very proper Person, to set up for a *Champion*, and to style himself a *Vindicator*! But there was no Need of such an explicit Confession. His *Production* sufficiently demonstrates, that its *Producer* can neither fence nor push. Witness the Opening of his very first Assault, in Page 3 where I am presented with a Tierce, not of Blunderbuffes, but of Blunders. "*In that Point,*" says the Blunderer, "*which you stickle so mightily for, viz. the Doctrine of absolute, irrespective PREDESTINATION, though ALL the Members of the Church of Rome do not fall in with it, because they are not compelled to it; as ALL the Members of the Church of Geneva do, because they ARE COMPELLED to it; yet, if the Testimony of Dr Potter, some time Dean of Windsor, be to be depended upon, there are TENCATHOLICS that hold this Point of Genevan Doctrine,*"

" for

(q) *Guthrie*, u. s. p. 114.

(r) Page 123.

“ for ONE that is so much an Arminian as to deny it.” Such a cluster of glaring Untruths deserves no Answer. By way however, of shewing, what an *honest* and *accurate* Opponent I have to deal with ; I’ll give the Paragraph a thorough Sifting

I. “ ALL the Members of the Church of Geneva are COMPELLED to fall in with” the Doctrine of *Predestination*. So far is this from being true, that the Doctrine itself, of *Predestination*, has been *expelled* from GENEVA, for very considerably more than half a Century back. *Geneva*, which was, once, dreaded by Papists, as one of the head Quarters of Calvinism, and termed, by them, for that Reason, “ THE PROTESTANT ROME,” is now, in that happy Respect, *Geneva* no longer. The once faithful City is become an Harlot. The unworthy Son of one of the greatest Divines that ever lived (I mean *Benedict*, Son, if I mistake not, of the Immortal *Francis Turretin*) was a principal Instrument of this Doctrinal Revolution. And, to the everlasting Dishonor of Bishop *Burnet*, HE, during his Exile, contributed not a little to the Inroads of Arminianism at *Geneva*, by prevailing with the leading Persons there to abolish the Test of Ministerial Subscriptions, about the Year 1686 (s). After his Return to *England*, and his Advancement to the Episcopal Bench ; there is great Reason
to

(s) “ He was much caressed and esteemed by the principal Men of *Geneva*. He saw they insisted strongly on their Consent of “ *Doctrine* (a Formulary commonly known by the name of the “ *Consensus*), which they required All Those to *subscribe*, who “ were admitted into Orders. He therefore employed all the “ *Eloquence* he was master of, and all the *Credit* he had acquired “ among them, to obtain an *Alteration* in this Practice. He “ represented to them the *Folly* and *ill Consequence* of such Sub- “ *scriptions*.—The *Warmth*, with which he expressed himself “ on this Head, was such, and such was the *Weight* of his *Character* ; that the Clergy of *Geneva* were afterwards RELEASED “ from these Subscriptions.”—Life of *Burnet*, annexed to his Hist. of his Own Time, Page 692, 693. Fol. 1734.

to believe, that he would very willingly have played the same Game *here*; and lain the Church of England under a similar Obligation to “his *Warmth* and the *Weight* of “his Character,” by *releasing* (to continue the Language of his Filial Biographer) *our* Clergy too from “the *Folly* “and *ill Consequence* of such Subscriptions.” But, through the Goodness of Providence, the People of *England* were not such implicit Trucklers to his Lordship’s “*Elquence* “and *Credit*,” as were the Citizens of *Geneva*. No “*Alteration*, in this Practice,” crowned his Wish (t). The
Time

(t) Bp *Burnet*, failing in his Desire of abolishing our Ecclesiastical *Subscriptions*, was forced to content himself with singing, to the Tune of *He would if he could*, in these plaintive and remarkable words: “*The Requiring SUBSCRIPTIONS to the XXXIX Articles is a GREAT IMPOSITION.*” [Hist. O. T. 2. 634.] An Imposition, however, in which his Lordship prudently acquiesced, and to which he was the Means of making *Others* submit, rather than he would forego (to use an Expression of his own) the “*Plentiful Bishopric*” of *SARUM*.

How much more disinterested and heroic was the Conduct of that honest Arminian and learned Arian, Mr *William Weissen*! The Account is curious: so take it in his own Words. “Soon “after the Accession of the House of *Hanover* to the Throne, “Sir *Joseph Jekyl*, that most excellent and upright Master of the “Rolls, and sincere Christian; Dr *Clark*’s and my very good “Friend; had such an Opinion of us two, that we might be “proper Persons to be made Bishops, in order to our endeavoring “to amend what was amiss in the Church: and had a Mind to “feel my Pulse, *how I would relish such a Proposal, if ever it “should be made me.* My Answer was direct and sudden, ‘That “*I would not sign the 39 Articles, to be Archbishop of Canterbury.* “To which Sir *Joseph* replied, ‘That Bishops are not obliged to sign “those Articles. I said, *I never knew so much before.* But still, I “added, *If I were a Bishop, I must oblige OTHERS to sign them, “which would go sorely against the Grain with me.* However, “I added further, that, supposing I should get over that Scruple, “and esteem the Act only as Ministerial, which would by no Means
“imply

Time for the Destruction of our Establishment *was not yet come*: And, I trust in God, it is still very far off. To the unspeakable Mortification of such as Mr *Sellon*, the FENCE is, hitherto, undemolished. Should our Governors in Church and State ever suffer the Fence to be plucked down, fare well to the *Vineyard*.—But, till the Barrier of Subscription (that *Stumbling-Block* to Arminians, who, nevertheless, for divers good Causes them thereunto moving, make shift to jump over it) actually *be* taken out of the Way; let no Man of common Knowledge or of common Modesty, call our Calvinistic Doctrines the Tenets of *Geneva*. If it be any real Honor, or Dishonor, to drink of the *Lemain* Lake; the ARMINIANS, as Matters stand, have it all to themselves.

2. Our Author pompously appeals to the Authority of “*Dr Potter, Dean of WINDSOR.*” He *should* have said, *Dean of WORCESTER*. *Potter* was, indeed, promised a *Canony* of *Windfor*; but never obtained it (*u*). This *Christopher*

“imply my own Approbation; yet, when I were a Bishop, I
 “should certainly endeavor to govern my Diocese by the Christian Rules in the Apostolical Constitutions, and in *St Paul’s*
 “Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*: which, as” [namely, in this Gentleman’s Opinion] “they would frequently contradict the
 “Laws of the Land, would certainly expose me to a *Præmunire*,
 “to the Forfeiture of all my Goods to the Crown, and to Imprisonment as long as the King pleased. *And this*, concluded I,
 “*would be the End of Bishop Whiston*. So I thought no more
 “of it.”——*Whiston’s* Memoirs of his own Life and Writings, Vol. I. P. 169.

(*u*) His Letter to *Laud*, in which he supplicated the Continuance of that Prelate’s Interest, for his Appointment to a Stall in *St George’s Chapel*, is worth transcribing.

“My Most Honoured Lord,

“I humbly thank your Grace for very many Demonstrations of
 “your Love to me: and particularly for your last favorable Mediation to his Majesty in my Behalf, for a Prebend in *Windfor*. The
 “CONVENIENCY of that Preferment (if my Sovereign Master please

topher Potter, in the Noviciate of his Ministry, had been Lecturer of *Abingdon*, where he was extremely popular, and regarded as a zealous Calvinist. But, as *Wood* observes, “when Dr *Laud* became a rising Favorite in the Royal Court, he [*Potter*] after a GREAT DEAL of SEEKING, was made HIS [*Laud*’s] Creature (x).” The Editor or Editors of the *Cambridge Tracts*, published in 1719, affect to think (y), that *Laud* paid his Court to *Potter*, instead of *Potter*’s being a Suitor to *Laud*. To me, Sir *Wood*’s Account more than seems to prove the contrary. Besides, the Archbishop was eminently stiff and supercilious: but the Lecturer was as remarkably supple and obsequious. The Prelate could have very little Advantage to hope for from the Acquisition of the Lecturer: but the latter had much to hope for from the good Graces of the Prelate. I conclude therefore, that *Potter* was a Cringer at *Laud*’s Levee, and, “after a great deal of Seeking,” i. e. in modern Style, after long Attendance and much Servility, being found very (z) ductile

“to confer it upon me) I shall value more than the PROFIT. But, however, I resolve not to prescribe to your Grace, much less to his Majesty; or, with Immediacy, or Importunity, to press you.—The Obligations, which I have to you, are such as I can never satisfy, but with my Prayers: which shall be constant, that your Grace may long live, with Honour and Comfort, to serve God, His Majesty, and this Church, which duly feels the Benefit of your WISDOM and GOODNESS. Your Grace’s, in all Humility,

See *Cant. Doome*, p. 356.

CHR. POTTER.”

Potter, however, was distanced in Adulation, by the Bishop of *Cork*, in *Ireland*; who thus wrote to *Laud*: “What I had, or Live, is of your Grace’s Goodness, under Him who gives Life, and Breath, and all Things; and under our gracious Sovereigne, who is the Breath of our Nostrils.” *Ibid* p. 355.

(x) *Athen* II. 44.

(y) See the Preface to those Tracts.

(z) The Ductility of our young Divine will be put beyond all reasonable Doubt, by the Letter that follows.—He had, in his better Days, unwarily written an Answer to a Popish Treatise published

tile and obsequious, he was entered on the List of the Archbishop's Dependents.

Laud's Plan of Civil and Religious Tyranny is well known: and the only Way for *Potter* to preserve the Favor he had taken so great Pains to acquire, was, by a round Recantation of the *Calvinistic* Doctrines; which were, at all Events, to be discountenanced and smothered, as a necessary Pre-requisite to our Union with *Rome*: an Union which *Heylin* himself, once and again, frankly acknowledges to have been one of the grand Objects in view (a).

To

lished by one *Knott*, a noisy Jesuit of that Age. A Second Edition of *Potter's* Answer was, it seems, called for, about, or soon after, the *Æra* of his Connections with *Laud*. This furnished the Author with a fair Opportunity of complimenting that Prelate, by requesting his Grace to garble the Book, and weed it of what *offensive* Passages he pleased, prior to the new Impression. On this Occasion, he thus addressed his Patron.

“ My Most Honoured Lord, October 6, 1634.

“ The Copies of my Answer to The Mistaker are most sold, and a
 “ new Impression intended. I am now reviewing it. I shall be glad
 “ to receive, from your Grace, by your Servant, Master Dell, any
 “ Direction to ALTER, or CORRECT, if any Thing therein be offensive
 “ to you. I humbly commend your Grace to the blessed Protection of
 “ the Lord Almighty; and will be ever

Your Grace's, in all Humility,
 CHR. POTTER.”

His Grace did, accordingly, with his own Hand, purge the Book of several Passages which, in his Judgment, bore too hard on the Pope and Church of *Rome*: and, the very next Year, this *Potter* (for not being made of too stiff Clay) was appointed Dean of *Worcester*.

(a) But why was the Revival of *Papery* one of the grand Objects at that Time? The Cause is easily traced. King *Charles*, indisputably, aimed at *Arbitrary Power*. To this End, *Papery* must be revived, not for its own Sake, but as the most convenient Prop to Despotism. And no Method either so effectually, or so expeditiously, conducive to the firm Erection of this Prop, as the Introduction of *Arminianism*. These were the Three constitutory Segments

of

To promote this Design, and still further to ingratiate himself with his Patron, *Potter* writes a Treatise, entitled, *A Survey of the New Platform of Predestination*: the Manuscript Copy of which fell into the Hands of the learned Dr *Twisse*, who gave himself the needless Trouble of refuting it.

Upon the Credit of this Renegado Calvinist and pretended Dean of *Windsor* (*b*), we are told;

3 That

of that Political Circle, into which the Court and Court Bishops, that then were, wished to conjure the Protestants of England. Or, if you please, such was the Plan of that goodly Pillar, which was to be erected, as a Trophy, on the Grave of departed Liberty. ARMINIANISM was to have been the Base; P O P E R Y, the Shaft; and TYRANNY the Capital that should terminate the whole.

(*b*) Mr *Sellon* seems to have been led into his mistake, respecting *Potter's* Deanery, by the Title Page prefixed to a Letter of *Potter's*, preserved in the *Cambridge Tracts* already mentioned. A Proof, by the Way, of the Accuracy and Faithfulness with which those Tracts were compiled. A Proof, moreover, of the many inconvenient Stumbles, to which such Writers as Mr *Sellon* are exposed, who content themselves with borrowing their Information from *Indexes* and *Title Pages*.

I have, above, stiled Dr POTTER a *Renegado*. Such, in outward Profession at least, he certainly was; and such, no Doubt, *Laud* esteemed him to be. But, after all his Tergiversation the *Abingdon* Lecturer does not appear to have embraced Arminianism *ex Animo* and upon Principle. Like the magnetic Needle when disturbed, he seems to have been in a State of continual Vibration, uneasy till he recovered his primitive Direction to the good, old, Calvinistic Point. This I infer from *his own Words*. In that very LETTER, to which Mr *Sellon* carries his Appeal; in that very LETTER, which underwent the necessary *Corrections* and *Alterations* of the good *Cambridge* Arminians who flourished in the Year 1719; even in that Letter of *Christopher Potter*, pruned and amended as aforesaid, I find the following Passages. “You are affected,” says he, to his Friend *Vicars* (who had charged him, and not temerarily, with *Inconstancy* in Matters of Religion,) “you are affected

3. That “*there are TEN Papists, who hold the Doctrine of Predestination, for ONE that denies it.*”—Every Man who

“ with a strong Suspicion, that I am turned *Arminian*: and you
 “ further guesses at the *Motive*; that some Sprinkling of *Court Holy*
 “ *Water*, like an Exorcism, hath enchanted and conjured me into
 “ this new Shape.” The Virtue of *Court Holy-water*, is doubt-
 less very efficacious, as an *Alterative*. No Transformations, re-
 corded in *Ovid*, can vye with the still more wonderful *Metamor-*
phoses, which this potent *Sprinkling* hath occasioned both in Pa-
 triots, Politicians, and Divines. *Potter’s* Correspondent had exactly
 hit the Mark. It was indeed the Application of *Court Holy Wa-*
ter, judiciously sprinkled by the Hand of *Laud*, which had made
Christopher cast his Skin, and come forth, in Appearance, a sleek
Arminian. But, when hard pushed by honest Mr *Vicars*, he was
 ashamed (as well he might) to set his avowed *Probatum est* to the
 powerful Virtues of the said *Water*. And how did he parry off
 the Charge? Even by *denying* himself to be an *Arminian* at all.
 His Words are these: “ I desire you to believe, that I NEITHER
 “ AM, NOR EVER WILL BE *Arminian*. I love *Calvin* very well:
 “ and, I must tell you. I cannot hate *Arminius*. I can assure
 “ you, I do *not* depart from my *antient* Judgement; but do well
 “ remember what I affirmed in my Questions at the Act, and
 “ have confirmed it, I suppose, in my Sermon: so, you see, I
 “ AM STILL WHERE I WAS.” The *Questions*, which he here al-
 ludes to, and which had been maintained by him at the *Oxford*
Act in the Year 1627, were these three: *Efficacia Gratiæ non*
pendet à Libero Influxu Arbitrii;—*Christus Dicitur Justitiæ, vice*
nostræ, propriè & integrè satisfecit;—*Ipse Actus Fidei, rō credere,*
non imputatur nobis in justitiam sensu proprio: i. e. “ The Efficacy
 “ of Grace is not suspended on the free Influence of Man’s Will;
 “ —Christ did strictly and completely satisfy God’s Justice in our
 “ Room and Stead;—The Act of Believing is not, itself, pro-
 “ perly imputed to us for Righteousness ” In his farther Vin-
 dication of himself from the Charge of *Arminianism*, *Potter* makes
 very honorable Mention of *seven* Predestinarian Divines, whom
 (let the Reader mark it well) he terms the “ WORTHIEST *Doctors* ”
 of the Churches of *ENGLAND*, *France*, and *Germany*. Nay (let
 Mr *Sellon* hear it, and weep,) he even flies the *Arminians*, what
 indeed

who knows what Popery is ; Every Man, who is at all acquainted either with the *antient* or *present* State of that Church ;

indeed they are, DISSENTERS from our own National Church. “ The *Arminians*,” continues he, “ DISSENT from *Us* only in “ these four Questions [viz. concerning *Predestination*, *Redemption*, “ *Grace*, and *Perseverance*.] The Lutheran Churches maintain “ against us all these four Questions, and moreover a number of “ notable Dreams and Dotages, both in matters of Ceremony “ and Doctrine : among others, you remember their absurd *Ubi-* “ *quity* and *Consubstantiation*. Now, notwithstanding all their “ [i. e. the *Lutherans*] foul Corruptions, yet I presume you know, “ for it is apparent out of public Records, that *our* better reformed “ Churches in *England*, *France*, *Germany*, &c. by the Advice of “ THEIR WORTHIEST DOCTORS, *Calvin*, *Buter*, *Beza*, *Mar-* “ *tyr*, *Zanchius*, *Urfin*, *Pareus*, have still offered to the Lutherans “ all christian Amity, Peace and Communion : though those viru- “ lent, fiery Adders of *Saxony*” [i.e. the Lutheran Divines] “ would “ never give Ear to the Voice of those wise Charmers.” In the mature Judgement, therefore, even of *Potter* himself, CALVIN, ZANCHIUS, and the other Five, were *wise Charmers* and our *wor-* “ *thiest Doctors*. Let us next hear, what the same Gentleman thought concerning Mr *Sellon*’s favorite Doctrine of *Election upon Faith and Works foreseen*. “ Can you deny,” continues he, “ that— “ many learned, pious, *Catholic* Bishops of the Old Church taught “ *Predestination for foreseen Faith or Works?* and suppose them “ herein to have ERRED, as, for my Part, I *doubt not* but they DID ; “ though upon other Grounds, than the bare Assertion of *Calvin*, “ *Beza*, or *Senensius* ; yet can you deny, that, notwithstanding this “ ERROR and others, they were then, and still since, accounted “ holy *Catholic* Bishops?”—He adds : “ I resolve NEVER to be “ an *Arminian*, and ever to be moderate.” For the above Passages, see the *Cambr. Tr* from p. 230, to p. 244.

The Reader, perhaps, may think, that I have thrown away too much Time on this Dr *Potter*. I did it to shew, on what flimsy Props Mr *Sellon* rests the Weight of his Cause At the very utmost, the Doctor was a kind of *amphibious* Divine, in these Matters. *Laud* seems to have had no great Reason to boast of him as a Pro- felyte ; any more than Mr *Wesley*’s Friend *Wat* has to trust him as

Church ; must consider such an Assertion, as the most false and daring Insult that can be offered to common Sense. Have not

a Referee. This will appear farther, from *another* very remarkable Passage, occurring in a *Sermon*, preached by this same Dr Potter, at the Consecration of his Uncle *Barnaby* to the See of *Carlisle*. I give the Quotation, on the Credit of the Editors of the above Letter. The Passage itself is this : “ For our Controversies, “ first let me protest, I favor not, I rather suspect, any new Inven- “ tions ; for *ab Antiquitate non recedo nisi invitatus* : especially re- “ nouncing all such ” [viz. all such *new Inventions*] “ as *any way* “ favor or flatter the depraved Nature and WILL OF MAN, which “ I constantly believe to be FREE ONLY TO EVIL, and of itself “ to have *no* Power at all, merely *none*, to any Act or Thing *spi- “ ritually good*. Most heartily embracing that Doctrine, which “ most amply commends the Riches of God’s *Free Grace*, which “ I acknowledge to be the *whole* and *sole Cause* of our PREDESTI- “ NATION, CONVERSION, and SALVATION : abhorring all damned “ Doctrines of the *Pelagians, Semipelagians, Jesuits, Socinians,* “ and of their Rags and Reliques ; which help only to pride and “ prick up corrupt Nature : humbly confessing, in the Words of “ St Cyprian (so often repeated by that WORTHY CHAMPION OF “ Grace, St AUGUSTIN,) *in nullo gloriandum est, quandoquidem “ nostrum nihil est*. It is God that worketh in us both the Will “ and the Deed : and therefore let him, that glorieth, glory in “ the Lord.” *Cambr. Tr.* p. 226, 227.

I cannot help thinking (for human nature is prone to speculate) how *dextrously* Dr POTTER played his Game ; and how neatly Dr LAUD, though a *knowing one*, was taken in. The former (if we are to believe his own solemn Protestations) had still very ample mental reserves in favor of *Calvinism* : while the latter supposed him a sincere Convert to *Arminianism*, and promoted him accordingly.—This reminds me of *another* very famous Instance of worldly Wisdom. The elder Vossius published, in the Year 1618, a *learned History of Pelagianism*. Wherein (say the Compilers of the *Biogr. Dict.* Vol. II. p. 317.) “ he affirmed, that the Sen- “ timents of St AUSTIN, upon *Grace* and *Predestination*, were “ not the most antient ; and that those of the *Remonstrants* [i. e. “ of the *Arminians*] were different from those of the *Semipelagians*.”

This

not the Doctrines, called *Calvinistic*, been condemned in form, and the Assertors of them pronounced *accursed*, by the Council of *Trent*? Did any Man ever read a single Popish Book of Controversy, written within a Century after the Reformation, in which the Protestants are not universally charged (as we still are by the Arminians) with making God the Author of Sin, only because they universally held *Predestination*? And, for the modern Popish Books of Controversy, I have hardly seen one, in which the Writers of that Communion do not exult, and impudently congratulate the Church of England on her visible Departure from those Doctrines. And, God knows, the Church of Rome has, in this Respect, but too much Reason for Triumph. Many nominal Protestants are saving Papists the Trouble

F 3

of

This Book delighted *Laud* so much, that, at his earnest Recommendation, *Charles* 1. made its Author a Prebendary of *Canterbury*, with Permission to reside still in *Holland*. Seems it not a little strange, that, rather than a vigorous Effort in Favor of *Arminianism* should pass unrewarded, a Prelate, of such high Principles as *Laud*, should obtain a Stall, in the Metropolitan Church of all *England*, for One who was, by Birth, a *German*, and, by Education and Connection, a *Dutch Presbyterian*? There was, indeed, no Preferment, to which *Vossius's* Merits, as a Scholar, did not entitle him: his Learning and Virtues, however, would never have cleared his Way to *Canterbury* Cathedral, had he not contributed to the Advancement of that New Scheme, which *Laud* had so deeply at Heart. But what will the Reader say, should he be told, that, after all, *Laud* was mistaken as to the sincerity of *Vossius's* *Arminianism*? Take the Account, in the Words of *Dr Potter* abovementioned: "He" [i. e. *Vossius*] "hath declared himself, in his last Book, *De Scriptoribus*" [I suppose, it should be *Historicis*] "*Latinis*, to be of *St AUGUSTIN's* Mind in these Questions" [viz; concerning *Predestination* and *Grace*;] "and is allowed, by the States, Public Professor at *Leyden*, where no *Arminian* is tolerated." *Cambr. Tr.* p. 237. So convenient is it, on some certain Occasions, for a Divine to look (like *Janus*, or like the *Germanic Eagle*) two Ways at once!

of poisoning the People, by doing it to their Hands. What *Heylin* quotes, from a Jesuit who wrote in the Time of *Charles I.* is, in great measure, true of the *present Times* :
 “ The *Doctrines* are ALTERED in many Things : as for
 “ Example, the *Pope not Antichrist* ; *Pictures* ; *Free-will* ;
 “ *Predestination* ; *universal Grace* ; *inherent Righteousness* ;
 “ the *Merit*” [which *Heylin* softens into, or *Reward rather*]
 “ of good *Works*. The XXXIX Articles seeming *patient*,
 “ if not *ambitious* also, of some *Catholic Sense* ; *Limbus Pa-*
 “ *trum* ; *Justification not by Faith alone*, &c (c).”

The 39 Articles themselves are neither *patient* nor *ambitious* of what the Jesuit called a *Catholic Sense*. How *patient*, or even *ambitious*, of a *Popish Sense*, some of the *Subscribers* to those Articles may be, is another Point. Stubborn Experience and incontestable Fact oblige us to distinguish, with *Dr South*, between the *Doctrines* of the *Church*, and of some who call themselves *Churchmen*.

Studious as I am of Brevity ; I cannot dismiss the Shameless Objection, drawn from the pretended *Popery* of *Calvinism*, without additional Animadversion. The slander does, indeed, carry its own Refutation stamped upon its Forehead : which Refutation, the following Detail of *Facts* may serve to confirm.

I shall demonstrate, in its proper Place, that the Principles of *John Wickliff*, and of his celebrated Profelyte *John Hufs*, were the same with what have since acquired the Name of Calvinistic. An Extract from the Bull of Pope *Martin V.* fraught with Anathemas against the Memories of those holy Men, and published A. D. 1418 ; will evince the *Detestation* and the *Alarm*, with which the attempted Revival of these *Doctrines* was received by the Church of *Rome*. Some of the Articles, against which his Holiness inveighed so fiercely, were as follow (d) :

“ There is one only Universal CHURCH, which is the Uni-
 “ versity” [or entire Number] “ of THE PREDESTINATE.
 “ Paul

(c) *Heylin's Life of Laud*, p. 238.

(d) *Fox's Acts & Mon.* Vol. I. p. 739. Edit. 1684.

“ Paul was never a Member of the Devil, although” [before his conversion] “ he did certain Acts like unto the Acts of the Church malignant.

“ The Reprobate are not Parts of the ” [invisible] Church; for that no Part of the same finally falleth from her: because the Charity” [or Grace] “ of PREDESTINATION, which bindeth the Church together, NEVER FAILETH.

“ The Reprobate, although he be sometime in Grace according to present Justice” [i. e. by a present Appearance of outward Righteousness,] “ yet is he NEVER a part of the Holy Church ” [in Reality:] “ and the Predestinate is EVER a Member of the Church, although sometime he fall from Grace adventitiâ, but not from the Grace of Predestination: ever taking the Church for the Convocation of the Predestinate, whether they be in Grace or not, according to present justice.” i. e. whether they be converted already, or yet remain to be so, the Predestinate, or Elect, constitute, as such, that invisible Church, which God the Father hath chosen, and God the Son redeemed.

“ The Grace of PREDESTINATION is the Band, wherewith the Body of the Church, and EVERY Member of the same, is INDISSOLUBLY joined to Christ their Head.”

Nothing can be more innocent and scriptural than these Positions. But the Religion of the BIBLE is not the Religion of Rome. Hence, in the Bull above mentioned, the Pope thus fulminates against those Doctrines and their Abettors: “ Certain Arch-Heretics have risen and sprung up, not against One only, but against divers and sundry Documents of the Catholic Faith: being Land-lopers, Schismatics, and seditious Persons; fraught with devilish Pride and wolfish Madness, deceived by the Subtilty of Satan, and, from one evil Vanity, brought to a worse. Who, although they rose up and sprang in divers Parts of the World, yet agreed they all in one, having their Tails as it were knit together: to wit, John Wickliff of England, John Hus of Bohemia, and Jerom of Prague,

“ of Damnable Memory ; who drew with them no small
 “ Number to miserable Ruin and Infidelity.—We, there-
 “ fore, having a Desire to resist such evil and pernicious
 “ Errors, and utterly root them out from amongst the
 “ company of faithful Christians ; will and command your
 “ Discretions, by our Letters Apostolical, that you that
 “ are Archbishops, Bishops, and other of the Clergy,
 “ and every one of you by himself, or by any other or
 “ others, do see that all and singular Persons, of what Dig-
 “ nity, Office, Pre-eminence, State, or Condition soever
 “ they be, and by what name soever they are known, who
 “ shall presume, obstinately, by any Ways or Means,
 “ privily or aparty, to hold, believe, and teach the Ar-
 “ ticles, Books, or Doctrine of the foresaid Arch-Here-
 “ tics, *John Wickliff, John Hus, and Jerom of Prague* ;
 “ —that then, as before, you see and cause Them and
 “ Every of them to be most severely Punished : and that
 “ you judge and give sentence upon them as Heretics, and
 “ that, as *arrant Heretics*, you leave them to the Secular
 “ Court or Power. — Furthermore we will and com-
 “ mand, that, by this our Authority Apostolical, ye ex-
 “ hort and admonish all the Professors of the Catholic
 “ Faith, as Emperors, Kings, Dukes, Princes, Marquisses,
 “ Earls, Barons, Knights, and other Magistrates, Rectors,
 “ Consuls, Pro-Consuls, Shires, Countrys, and Univer-
 “ sitys of the Kingdoms, Provinces, Citys, Towns, Castles,
 “ Villages, their Lands and other Places, and all other
 “ executing Temporal Jurisdiction, That they EXPEL out
 “ of their Kingdoms, Provinces, Citys, Towns, Castles,
 “ Villages, Lands, and other Places, All and All Man-
 “ ner of such Heretics ; and that they suffer no such,
 “ within their Shires and Circuits, to preach, or to keep
 “ either House or Family, or to use any Handy-craft or
 “ Occupations, or other Trades of Merchandize, or to
 “ solace themselves any ways, or to frequent the Company
 “ of Christian Men. And furthermore, if such public
 “ and known Heretics shall chance to dye, let him and
 them

“ them want Christian Burial. His Goods and Substance
 “ also, from the Time of his Death, according to the
 “ Canonical Sanctions, being confiscate; let no such en-
 “ joy them to whom they appertain, ’till, by the Eccle-
 “ siastical Judges, Sentence upon his or their crime of
 “ Heresy be declared and promulgate.” The Reader,
 who is desirous of perusing the whole of this Bull, may
 see it in *Fox*, vol 1. from P. 737, to 742. But the Sample,
 here given, may suffice to shew that *Calvinism* appeared
 as dreadful to the Eyes of Popery, as it can to those of
John Wesley or *Walter Sellon*.

The See of *Rome* relished these Doctrines no better, in
 the Century that followed. Three years after the Rise of
Martin Luther, another flaming Bull was issued, against
 that Reformer, by *Leo X.* of this Bull, these were some
 of the Roarings: “ Rise up, O LORD, and judge thy
 “ cause, for Foxes are risen up, seeking to destroy thy
 “ vineyard.—Rise up, *Peter*, and attend to the Cause of
 “ the Holy Church of Rome, the Mother of all Churches;
 “ against which, false Lyars have risen up, bringing in
 “ Sects of Perdition, to their own speedy Destruction;
 “ whose Tongue is like Fire, full of unquietness, and
 “ replenished with deadly Poyson: who, having a wicked
 “ Zeal, and nourishing Contentions in their Hearts, do
 “ brag and lye against the Verity. — Rise up, *Paul*,
 “ also: we pray thee, who hast illuminated the same
 “ Church with thy Doctrine and Martyrdom, for now is
 “ sprung up a New *Porphiry*, who, as the said *Porphiry*
 “ did then unjustly slander the holy Apostles, so semblably
 “ doth this Man” [meaning *Luther*] “ now slander, re-
 “ vile, rebuke, bite, and bark against the holy Bishops,
 “ our Predecessors.—Finally, let all the holy Universal
 “ Church rise up, and, with the blessed Apostles, toge-
 “ ther make Intercession to Almighty God, that, the Er-
 “ rors of all Schismatics being rooted up, his holy Church
 “ may be conserved in Peace and Unity.—We, for the
 “ Charge of our Pastoral Office committed unto us, can
 “ no

“ nō longer forbear, or wink at, the Pestiferous Poyson
 “ of these foresaid Errors; of which Errors, we thought
 “ good to recite Certain here, the Tenor of which is as
 “ followeth.” A long Catalogue of pretended Heresys is
 then given: among which, are these *Two*;

In every good Work the Just Man sinneth.

Freewill, after Sin [i. e. ever since *Original Sin*],
is a Title and Name only [i. e. a mere empty Word,
 without Reality or Foundation in Truth].

On These and the other Articles asserted by *Luther*,
 Pope *Leo* thus continues to descant: “ All which Errors,
 “ there is no man in his right wits, but he knoweth the
 “ same, in their severall Respects, how PESTILENT they
 “ be, how PERNICIOUS, how much they SEDUCE godly
 “ and simple Minds, and, finally, how much they be
 “ against all Charity, and against the Reverence of the
 “ holy Church of *Rome*, the Mother of all faithfull, and
 “ Mistress of the Faith itself; and against the Sinews
 “ and Strength of Ecclesiastical Discipline, which is Obe-
 “ dience, the Fountain and Well-Spring of all vertues,
 “ and without which every Man is easily convicted to be
 “ an Infidel.—Wherefore, by the Counsel and Assent
 “ of the said our Reverend Brethren, upon due Confide-
 “ ration of all and singular the Premises; By the Autho-
 “ rity of Almighty God, and of the blessed Apostles *Peter*
 “ and *Paul*, and by Our Own, we do CONDEMN, RE-
 “ PROVE, and UTTERLY REJECT All and singular the
 “ Articles or Errors aforesaid, respectively: and, by the
 “ Tenor hereof, we here decree and declare, that they
 “ ought of all Christian People, both Men and Women,
 “ to be taken as DAMNED, REPROVED, and REJECTED.
 “ And therefore forbidding here, under Pain of the
 “ *Greater Curse* and *Excommunication*; losing of their Dig-
 “ nitys, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal; and
 “ to be *deprived* of all Regular Orders and Privileges;
 “ also of losing their Libertys to hold general Schools, to
 “ read and profess any Science or Faculty; of losing also
 “ their

“ their *Tenures* and *Feoffments*, and of Inability for ever to
 “ recover the same again, or any other; moreover, under
 “ Pain of secluding from *Christian Burial*, yea and of
 “ *Treason* also : we charge and command all and singular
 “ Christian People, as well of the Laity, as of the Clergy,
 “ —that they shall not presume, publicly or privately,
 “ under any manner of Pretence or Color, colorably or
 “ expressly, or how else soever, to hold, maintain, de-
 “ fend, preach, or favor the foresaid Errors, or any of
 “ them, or any such perverse Doctrine (d).” This In-
 strument, of which I have hardly retailed the Tenth Part,
 is dated *June 15. 1520*

Honest *Luther* laughed at this Ecclesiastical Thunder and Lightning. He published an *Answer*, whose Purport did equal Honor to his Integrity and Intrepidity. “ A
 “ Rumor reached me,” says the adamantin Reformer,
 “ that a certain Bull was gone forth against me, and cir-
 “ culated almost over the world, before I had so much as
 “ seen it : though, in Right, it ought to have been
 “ transmitted first and directly to my Hands, I being the
 “ particular Object at whom it was levelled.” The Fact
 was, the Pope’s Bull (somewhat like Mr *Wesley*’s abridg-
 ment of ZANCHIUS) was, as *Luther* expresses it, of the
 Owl or Batt kind : it flew about surreptitiously and in the
 dark. *Noctis & Tenebrarum Filia, timet Lucem Vultus mei*,
 says LUTHER; *Hanc tamen ipsam Noctuum vix tandem, mul-
 tum adjuvantibus Amicis, in Imagine suâ datum est videre :*
 “ This Bird of Night sought to elude my View ; the Owl
 “ was, however, though with some Difficulty, caught
 “ by my Friends, and brought to me, that I might sur-
 “ vey the creature in its proper Form.”—I do,” adds *Lu-
 ther*, “ hold, defend, and embrace, with the full Trust
 “ of my Spirit, those Articles condemned and excommu-
 “ nicated in the said Bull : and I affirm, that the same
 “ Articles ought to be held of all faithful Christians under
 “ Pain of eternal Malediction ; and that they are to be
 “ counted

“ counted for Antichrists, whosoever have consented to
 “ the said Bull: whom I also, together with the Spirit of
 “ all them that know the Truth, do utterly detest and
 “ shun. And let this stand for thy Revocation, *O Bulla*,
 “ *verè Bullarum Filia*, O thou Bull, which art the very
 “ Daughter of all vain Bubbles (e).” The Pope got nothing, by stigmatizing *Luther* with Heresy and Schism. The *German Reformer* treated the *Italian Pontiff* with no more Ceremony than, *Come out, thou Ass-headed Antichrist; is not thy whorish Face ashamed?* I am far from applauding the violence of *Luther’s* Temper, and from approving the coarseness of his Language. But the good Man was heated: and, I suppose, thought it needful, on some Occasions, to answer Fools according to their Folly, lest they should be wise in their own Conceit.

SECTION III.

The Judgment of the Council of Trent, concerning the Doctrines called Calvinistic.

LUTHER died in the Year 1546. The first Session of the Council of *Trent* had been held in the year preceding. After many and long adjournments, infinite Wrangling, Chicanery and Intrigue; the Council broke up for good, A. D. 1563. During these 18 Years, five Pontiffs, successively, occupied the *Roman Chair*; viz. *Paul III*, *Julius III*, *Marcellus II*, *Paul IV*, and *Pius IV*. The Acts passed by this Council, in the Course of their Five and Twenty Sessions, most glaringly demonstrate that Church’s unabated Abhorrence of the *Calvinistic Doctrines*. Nay, if *Petavius* is to be believed (and, on a Subject of this Sort, there is no Reason to question the Testimony

(e) See *Fox*, *ibid.* p. 541, & sequ.

timony of that learned Jesuit,) the Council of *Trent* was called together, as much on *Calvin's* Account, as on *Luther's*: the Condemnation of those (*f*) two Reformers (whose Doctrine, concerning Predestination, was one and the same) being, according to that Historian, one of the main Objects in View. I slightly touched on the *Tridentine* Decisions, in my former *Vindication of the Church of England*. I shall, here, consider them more diffusively. The Decrees of the Council of *Trent* are the genuine, avowed, indisputable Standard of Popery. From them, I extract the ensuing Passages. Whoever reads them, will at once see, that *Arminianism* is the central Point wherein *Popery* and *Pelagianism* meet.

“ If any one shall affirm, that Man's Free-will, moved
 “ and excited of God, does not, by consenting, co-operate with God the Mover and Exciter, so as to prepare
 “ and dispose itself for the Attainment of Justification;
 “ if, moreover, any one shall say, that the Human Will
 “ cannot refuse complying, if it pleases; but that it is un-
 “ active, and merely passive; Let such an one be ac-
 “ cursed (*g*).

“ If

(*f*) Vide PETAVII *Rationar. Temp.* Par. 1. l. 9. Cap. 12. sub Init.

(*g*) Si quis dixerit, liberum Hominis Arbitrium, à Deo motum & excitatum, nihil co-operari assentiendo Deo excitanti atque vocanti, quo, ad obtinendam Justificationis gratiam, se disponat ac præparet, neque posse dissentire si velit, sed veluti inanime quoddam nihil omnino agere, merèque passivè se habere; Anathema sit.—Conc. Trid. Sess. VI. Canon 4. p. 40.—My Edition is that of Paris, 1738.

Si quis liberum Hominis Arbitrium, post Adæ Peccatum, amissum & extinctum esse dixerit, aut Rem esse de solo Titulo, imo Titulum sine Re, Figmentum denique à Satanâ inventum in Ecclesiam; anathema sit. Ibid. Can. 5. & This fifth Canon was particularly leveled at the Memory of *Luther*, who had asserted, in so many Words, that, ever since the Fall, Freewill is *Res de solo Titulo*; yea, *Titulus & Nomen sine Re*.

Si quis dixerit, Opera omnia, quæ ante Justificationem fiunt, quacunque

“ If any one shall affirm, that, since the Fall of *Adam*,
 “ Man’s Freewill is lost and extinguished ; or, that it is
 “ a Thing merely titular, yea, a Name without a Thing,
 and

quacunque Ratione facta sint, verè esse Peccata, vel Odium Dei mereri, &c. anathema sit. Ibid. Can. 6.

Si quis dixerit, solâ Fide impium justificari,—& nullâ ex parte necesse esse eum suæ Voluntatis motu præparari atque disponi ; Anathema sit. Ibid. Can. 9.

Si quis dixerit, Homines justificari vel solâ Imputatione Justitiæ Christi, vel solâ Peccatorum Remissione, exclusâ Gratiâ & Charitate quæ in Cordibus eorum per Sp. S. diffundatur atque in illis inhæreat ; aut etiam Gratiâ, quâ justificamur, esse tantum Favorem Dei ; Anathema sit. Ibid. Can. 11.

Si quis dixerit, Fidem justificantem nihil aliud esse quàm Fiduciam Divinæ Misericordiæ, Peccata remittentis propter Christum ; vel eam Fiduciam solam esse, quâ justificamur ; Anathema sit. Ibid. Can. 12.

Si quis dixerit, Hominem renatum & justificatum teneri ex fide ad credendum, se certò esse in Numero Prædestinatorum ; Anathema sit. Ibid. Can. 15.

Si quis magnum illud usque in Finem Perseverantiæ donum se certò habiturum absolutâ & infallibili certitudine dixerit ;—Anathema sit. Ibid. Can. 16.

Si quis justificationis Gratiâ non nisi Prædestinatis ad vitam contingere dixerit ; reliquos verò omnes qui vocantur, vocari quidem, sed Gratiâ non accipere, utpote Divinâ potestate Prædestinatos ad Malum ; Anathema sit. Ibid. Can. 17.

Si quis dixerit, Dei Præcepta Homini etiam justificato, & sub Gratiâ constituto, esse ad Observandum impossibilia ; Anathema sit. Ibid. Can. 18.

Si quis hominem semel justificatum dixerit amplius peccare non posse, neque Gratiâ amittere, atque idè eum qui Labitur & peccat nunquam verè fuisse justificatum ; — — — — Anathema sit. Ibid. Can. 23.

Si quis dixerit, Justitiâ acceptam non conservari, atque etiam augeri, coram Deo, per bona Opera ; sed Opera ipsa Fructus solummodò & signa esse Justificationis adeptæ, non autem ipsius augendæ Causam ; Anathema sit. Ibid. Can. 24.

Si quis dixerit, justos non debere pro bonis operibus, quæ in Deo fuerint facta, expectare & sperare æternam Retributionem à Deo,
per

“ and a Fiction introduced by *Satan* into the Church ; let
 “ such an one be Accursed.

“ If any one shall affirm, that all Works done before
 “ Justification, in what Way soever they are done, are
 “ properly Sins, or deserve the Displeasure of God, &c.
 “ let such an one be Accursed.

“ If any one shall say, that the Ungodly is justified by
 “ Faith only,—and that it is by no means necessary that
 “ he should prepare and dispose himself by the Motion of
 “ his own Will ; let such an one be Accursed.

“ If any one shall affirm, that Men are justified, either
 “ by the Imputation of Christ's Righteousness alone, or
 “ by a mere” [i. e. gratuitous] “ Remission of Sins, to
 “ the Exclusion of inherent Grace and Charity shed
 “ abroad in their Hearts by the Holy Spirit ; or shall say,
 “ that the alone Bounty of God is the Grace by which
 “ we are justified ; let such an one be Accursed.

“ If any one shall affirm, that justifying Faith is no
 “ more than a Reliance on the Mercy of God as forgiv-
 “ ing our Sins for the Sake of Christ ; or that we are jus-
 “ tified by such a Reliance only ; let such an one be Ac-
 “ cursed.

“ If

per ejus Misericordiam & Jesu Christi meritum, si bene agendo, & divina Mandata custodiendo, usque in Finem perseveraverint; Anathema sit. Ibid. Can. 26.

Si quis dixerit, Hominis justificati bona opera ità esse Dona Dei, ut non sint etiam bona ipsius Justificati Merita; aut, ipsum Justificatum, bonis Operibus, quæ ab eo per Dei Gratiâ, & Jesu Christi Meritum, cujus vivum Membrum est, sunt, non verè mereri Augmentum Gratiæ, vitam æternam, & ipsius vitæ æternæ, si tamen in Gratiâ decesserit, Consecutionem, atque etiam Gloriæ Augmentum; Anathema sit. Ibid. Can. 32.

These and the other Canons and Decrees of this Antichristian Synod, down to the *seventh* Session inclusive, are refuted, by the great CALVIN, with admirable Force, Conciseness, and Perspicuity, in a Tract of his, entitled, *Acta Syn. Trid. cum Antidoto*: first published A. D. 1547, and since inserted into his *Tractat. Theologici*, reprinted together in 1612.

“ If any one shall affirm, that a Regenerate and Justified Man is bound to believe that he is certainly in the Number of the *Elect*; let such an one be Accursed.

“ If any one shall affirm, with positive and absolute Certainty, that he shall surely have the great Gift of *Perseverance* to the End; let him be Accursed.

“ If any one shall affirm, that the Grace of Justification does not accrue to any, but to those who are *Predestinated* unto Life; and that all the rest” [viz. All who are NOT *Predestinated to Life*] “ are called, indeed, but do not receive Grace, on Account of their being predestinated to Evil; let such an one be Accursed.

“ If any one shall affirm, that the Laws of God are impossible to be kept even by such as are justified and and in a State of Grace; let him be Accursed.” [By *keeping the Laws of God*, the Church of Rome evidently means a *sinless* Obedience.]

“ If any one shall affirm, that the Man, who is once justified, cannot thenceforth sin” [i. e. *so* sin, as to perish finally], “ nor lose Grace; and, consequently, that he who falls and sins” [viz. *unto Death*] “ was never really justified;—let such an one be Accursed.

“ If any one shall affirm, that good Works do not preserve and increase Justification; but that good Works themselves are only the Fruits and Evidence of Justification already had; let such an one be Accursed.

“ If any one shall affirm, that the Righteous, IF *they endure to the End* by well-doing and keeping God’s Precepts, ought not, through God’s Mercy and Christ’s Merits, to expect and look for an eternal Recompence for those good Works which they have wrought in God; let such an one be Accursed.

“ If any one shall affirm, that the good Works of a Justified Man are so the Gifts of God, as not to be, at the same Time, the Merits of the Justified Person himself; or that the Justified Person does not himself merit Increase of Grace, Eternal Life, and an Increase

“ of

“ of Glory, by those good Works which he performs
 “ through God’s Grace and Christ’s Merits, that is to
 “ say, if he dye in a State of Grace; let such an one be
 “ Accursed.”

And now, what opinion can the Reader form of Mr *Sellon’s* Veracity? Must not he, who dares to insinuate that “ *Predestination is held by TEN Papists out of ELEVEN,*” be either a Man of no Reading, or a Man of no Truth? Admit the first, and he is too mean for Contempt. Admit the last, and he is too bad for Correction.

“ But, it may be, the Church of *Rome*, in the present
 “ Century, differs from the Church of *Rome* in the year
 “ 1563.” By no Means. The Members of *that* Church are, for the most Part, true and *steady* to her Principles. Would to God I could say as much concerning the Members of *our own*.—By continuing the historical Chain, we shall quickly and clearly see, that *Popery* and *Arminianism* have been, ever since, as good Friends, as they were in the Days of *Wickliff*, or at the Breaking up of the Council of Trent. I shall give two famous Instances. The Conduct of the *Romish* Church, toward *Janfenius*; and, more recently, toward Father *Quesnell*; will plainly shew, that *Popery* and *Calvinism* are as far from shaking Hands as ever.

SECTION IV.

*The Arminianism of the Church of Rome
 farther evinced, in her Treatment of
 Janfenius and Quesnel.*

CORNELIUS *Janffen*, Bishop of *Ypres*, flourished about fifty Years after the Dissolution of the above execrable Synod. Though born of *Popish* Parents, and conversant with *Papists* all his Life, it pleased God to open the
 G Eyes

Eyes of this Prelate, in such a Manner, as gave the most serious Alarm to the Friends of *Rome*; and with a Success, which has, probably, lain the Basis of a future Reformation in the Church of *France*. This great Man, naturally of a studious Turn, applied himself, with peculiar Diligence, to the Works of *Austin*. On reading them carefully, he saw, and was surprized to see, how enormously the Church, which calls herself *Catholic*, had deviated from the System of that antient Father, whom, nevertheless, she has justly honored with the Titles of *Saint*, and *Doctor of Grace*; and to whose Authority, she has, often, been so audacious, as to carry her Appeal.—Many of the Enlightened Clergy and Laity, of our own Church, can easily form a Judgment of *Jansenius's* Feelings on this Occasion, by the Astonishment, which themselves have experienced, when, on a careful Review of her admirable *Liturgy*, *Articles*, and *Homilies*, they first began to discern the Vastness of that Doctrinal Chasm, which severs her *real* from her *reputed* Sons.

The farther JANSENIUS advanced; the more he *read*, *prayed*, and *reflected*; the deeper and the clearer was his Conviction of the general Apostacy from Truth. Yet, determined to make no rash Conclusions, and resolved to have firm Ground for every Step he took; he devoted *more than TWENTY Years* to the momentous Enquiry. He went through the *whole* Works of the voluminous Father, *Ten Times*. Those Parts of them, which professedly treat of *Grace*, *Predestination*, and *Free-will*, he read *Thirty Times* over: making such large and laborious Extracts from those valuable Writings, as, when properly arranged, and digested into a regular Synopsis, might ascertain the Doctrine of St *Austin*, concerning these Points, beyond all Possibility of Doubt.

In a world like the present, but especially in those Parts of it where *Popery* is the reigning Superstition, it is, often, extremely difficult, to connect Integrity with Prudence. The man, who *will* be honest, *must* run some Risque.

Jansenius,

Jansenius, having been sent on a Kind of Academic Embassy, to negotiate some Business of Importance with the *Spanish* King, in Favor of the University of *Louvain*; the good Fathers of the Inquisition appeared extremely desirous to sacrifice *JANSENIUS* to the *Manes* of *PELAGIUS*. Probably, during his Residence in *Spain*, *Janssen* might have rendered himself suspected of *Herefy*, by talking too freely in favor of *Predestination*, and by imprudently hinting, how much he wished to see his Church really espouse the Principles of that Saint, whose Works she pretended to revere as Oracles. However this was, the *Inquisitors* were alarmed; and actually applied to *Basil de Leon*, at whose House he had lodged, to furnish them with such Materials against him, as might justify their citing him before the Tribunal of the *Holy Office*. But, by the Blessing of Providence on the Courage and Address of *Basil*, the rising Storm was dispelled; and *Jansenius*, then lately returned to *Flanders*, continued unmolested in his College: from whence, a few Years after, he was (not for his *Religious*, but for his *Secular* Services) raised to the Mitre. In his Consecration to the See of *Ypres*, the Romanists have had the Mortification to behold an *Heretical* BISHOP of an *Infalible* Church. Nay, he was the very Bishop, by the Imposition of whose Hands Cardinal *Bellarmino* himself received the Order of Priesthood. Misfortunes these, which the Zeal of the good *Spanish* Inquisitors would willingly have rendered impossible, by laying the Axe to the Root in due Season.

Let no Reader imagine, that I am either *blind* to the dark Parts of this eminent Prelate's Conduct, or willing to *conceal* them. Intimidated, very probably, by the narrowness of his Escape in *Spain*, *Jansenius* did not venture to publish his *Collections from St AUSTIN*. Nay, (such is man!) he even waged a paper war with the Protestants of *Holland*, and sought to retrieve his Character at *Rome*, by ridiculously attempting to prove, that the Doctrine of Grace maintained by *AUSTIN*, was not *that* Doctrine of Grace

maintained by CALVIN. To such wretched Shifts, and palpable Contradictions, are even great and good Men reduced, when they have not a sufficient Portion of *Intrepidity*, to assert the Truth at all Events.—And what did he gain, by this Duplicity? What all Trimmers deserve, and most of them meet with: *Hatred* and *Contempt*. His memory is execrated by the general Voice of the *Romish* Church, who have, without Scruple, branded HERESY on his Name, and whose Bigotry would not suffer his very (*b*) *Tomb* to be left standing in his own Cathedral of *Ypres*. For, his valuable *Excerpta* from *St Austin*, which he had not the Courage to publish himself, appeared within two Years after his Decease: and raised such a Ferment among the Papists, particularly in *France* and *Flanders*, as all the Arts and Efforts of Infallibility knew not how to lay. *Light shone in Darknefs; and the Darknefs comprehended it not*. She, who affects to pride herself on being the “*Centre of Unity*,” found herself agitated with all the Discord and Distractions of a Chaotic War. The Book
asserted,

(*b*) Mr *Bayle*, from *Leydecker*, gives the following Account of the Demolition of *Janfenius's* Monument. “*Francis de Robes*,” who succeeded *Janffen* in the Bishoprick of *Ypres*, “caused the Tomb-Stone of his Predecessor to be taken away silently by night, on which were written the Praises of his Virtue and Learning, and, particularly, of his Book intitled *AUGUSTINUS*.” The Epitaph, it seems, imported, that “*This most faithful Interpreter of St Augustin's most secret Thoughts, had employed, upon that Work, a Divine Wit, an Indefatigable Labor, and all the Time of his Life:*” adding, that “*the Church would receive the Fruit of it upon Earth, as he did the Reward of it in Heaven*.” Words these, which were not only totally incompatible with the Decisions of the Council of *Trent*; but, moreover, as Mr *Bayle* observes, “*Injurious to the Bulls of Pope Urban VIII. and Innocent X. who had CONDEMNED that Book*.” He adds, that “*the Destruction of the Grave-stone was made by an EXPRESS ORDER of Pope Alexander VII.*” *Bayle's Dict.* Vol. 3. p. 548.

asserted, from St *Austin*, that “ There are *no* Remains of
 “ Purity or Goodness, in Human Nature, since the Fall :
 “ That the Influence of Grace is *irresistible* : and that, in
 “ the work of Conversion and Sanctification, *All* is to be
 “ ascribed to Grace, and *nothing* to Human Nature. On
 “ the Contrary, the *Jesuits* maintained, as they still do”
 [would to God that *Jesuits* were the *only* ones], “ that
 “ Human Nature is far from being deprived of *All* Power
 “ of doing Good ; and that Man, born *free*, may *resist*
 “ the Operations of Grace (i) ;” i. e. *so* resist them, as to
 render them eventually ineffectual.

“ In the year 1641,” continues the last cited Historian,
 “ the *Jesuits*, adding to their Arguments the Interest they
 “ had at the Court of *Rome*, got the Book ‘ AUGUSTINUS’
 “ prohibited by the INQUISITION ; and, the following
 “ Year, solemnly condemned by the POPE, as reviving the
 “ Errors which his Predecessors had banished.” This Pope
 was *Urban VIII.* His Successor, *Innocent X.* went still
 farther in his Opposition to the Synopsis of St *Austin* : for
 he condemned, “ By a Bull, dated *May 31*, 1653, the *Five*
 “ following Propositions, selected, by the *Jesuits*, out of
 “ *Jansenius’s* AUGUSTINUS, as the most proper to discredit
 “ that work. These Propositions were,

“ I. *There are Divine Precepts, which good Men, not-
 “ withstanding their Desire to observe them, are absolutely
 “ unable to obey, &c.*

“ II. *No Person, in this corrupt State of Nature, can
 “ RESIST the Influence of Divine Grace.*

“ III. *In order to render Human Actions (k) meritorious
 “ or otherwise, it is not requisite that they be exempt from
 “ NECESSITY, but only that they be free from constraint.*

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“ IV.

(i) *Bower’s Hist. of the Popes*, Vol. 7. p. 480.

(k) *Jansenius* was, certainly, a Man of too great Penetration,
 and too well versed in the Theory of Consequences, not to know,
 that *Absolute Grace* cuts up Human Merit by the Roots. But,
 being

“ IV. *The Semipelagians admitted preventing Grace to be necessary to every*” [good] “ *Action: and their HERESY consisted in this, that they allowed the HUMAN WILL to be induced with a POWER OF RESISTING that Grace, or of COMPLYING with its Influence (l).*”

“ V. *Whoever says, that Christ dyed, or shed his Blood, for ALL Mankind, is a Semipelagian.*”

“ The Condemnation ” [of these Propositions] “ afforded GREAT matter of TRIUMPH to the Jesuits (m):” and no wonder; for, that artful Order of Men know but too well, that Nothing so effectually bairs out Popery, as the Belief of those Doctrines, by whatever Name they are called: whether we term them *Austinism*, or *Jansenism*; *Calvinism*, or *Church-of-ENGLANDISM*.

Sir Paul Rycaut, in his Continuation of *Platina*, gives us the very Words, in which Each of the above *Five Propositions* was respectively condemned. A Consistory of Cardinals and Divines being called, and the Pope himself presiding in Person at the Board; the Propositions were reprobated

being determined to keep up some Appearance of Attachment to the *Roman See*, that these Truths, he ventured to assert, might have the wider and securer Spread among the People of that Communion; he found, or thought he found it needful, to open their Eyes by Degrees, and not pour too much Light upon them at once. He contented himself, therefore, on some Occasions, with establishing certain *Premisses*, from whence, indeed, certain *Conclusions* naturally and necessarily follow; but which he prudently left to the Illation of his Disciples.—This was shrewd; but all the Candor in the World cannot call it honest.

(l) The learned *Mastricht* cites this fourth Proposition with a little Variation: *Semipelagiani admittebant prævenientis Gratiæ interioris Necessitatem ad singulos Actus, ETIAM AD INITIUM FIDEI: Et in hoc erant Hæretici, quòd vellent, eam Gratiàm talem esse cui pèssèt humana voluntas resistere, vel obtemperare. Operum p. 1176. Amstel. 1724.*

(m) Bower, u. f. Page 482.

reprobated in Manner and Form following (n): *We pronounce the FIRST of these Propositions to be presumptuous, blasphemous, heretical, and condemned with a Curse; and, as such, we condemn it accordingly. The SECOND also we pronounce to be heretical; and, as such, we condemn it. The THIRD we pronounce heretical; and we condemn it as such. The FOURTH we condemn, as false and heretical. The FIFTH, as importing that Christ dyed for the Salvation of Those only who were Elected, we pronounce to be false, presumptuous, scandalous, impious, blasphemous, scurrilous, derogatory to the Goodness of God, and heretical; and, as such, we condemn it.*

Pope Alexander VII. who succeeded Innocent X. “not only confirmed, AT THE INSTANCE OF THE JESUITS, the Bull of Innocent, condemning the Five Propositions, mentioned above; but, by a new Bull” [dated A. D. 1657.] “declared that the said Propositions were the Doctrines of *Jansenius*, and were contained in his Book: and that they had been condemned in the *obvious Sense*, and in the Sense of their Author; in *Sensu obvio*, in *Sensu ab Auctore intento*. — — — Nay, the Jesuits procured, by their Interest in Cabinet-Councils, a *MAN-DATE* from *Louis XIV.*” [of *France*], “commanding All, within his Dominions, to receive a *Formulary*, or Confession of Faith, in which, the Doctrine, condemned by the Pope, was owned to be the Doctrine contained

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“ in

(n) PRIMAM temerariam, impiam, blasphemam, Anathemate damnatam, & hæreticam, declaramus, & uti talem Condemnamus. SECUNDAM Hæreticam declaramus, & uti talem damnamus. TERTIAM hæreticam declaramus, & uti talem damnamus. QUARTAM falsam & hæreticam declaramus, & uti talem damnamus. QUINTAM falsam, temerariam, scandalosam, & (intellectam eo sensu, ut Christus pro salute duntaxat Prædestinatorum mortuus sit) impiam, blasphemam, contumeliosam, Divinæ Pietati derogantem, & hæreticam, declaramus, & uti talem damnamus. RYCAUT's Lives of the Popes, p. 318.

“ in the Book of *Jansenius*, styled AUGUSTINUS. They,
 “ who refused to sign that *Formulary*, were deprived of
 “ their Livings, and either cast into *Prison*, or sent into
 “ *Exile* (o).”

This Persecution of *Jansenius*'s numerous Disciples (for his Book had opened the Eyes of Multitudes) was both severe and lasting. The Truths, which he had brought to Light, were, at all Events, to be stifled and exterminated, as opening a Door to *Protestantism*, and as shaking the very Foundations of the Infallible Church. Hence, in *France*, where *Jansenius*'s formidable Book had made most Havoc amongst Catholics, the *Abjuration of the FIVE PROPOSITIONS* was exacted, not only from all the *Secular Clergy*, but even from every *Monk*, *Nun*, and *Friar*, who was not willing to undergo the Opprobrium and Penalties of Heresy. Nay, the very *Laity* of the several Dioceses were not excused from abjuring these reputed and real Doctrines of Calvinism (p): which, however, could not extirpate the Party of *Jansenius*; who subsist, in vast numbers, to this Day, and are suspected (not without Reason) of only waiting a favorable Opportunity of entirely shaking off the Papal Yoke. The *Bread* of sound Doctrine, which the Bishop of YPRES has cast upon the Waters, will, I doubt not, be found after many Days. In vain did Pope CLEMENT XIII. by his Bull, dated July 15. 1705. renew the Fulminations of his Predecessors, by declaring, that “ *The Faithful ought*
 “ *to condemn, as HERETICAL, not only with their MOUTHS,*
 “ *but in their HEARTS, the Sense of Jansen's Book contained*
 “ in

(o) *Bower*, ubi sup. p. 484.

(p) “ The Assembly of the Clergy, in the Years 1660, 1661,
 “ and 1664, ordered ALL Persons to SUBSCRIBE the *Formulary*.
 “ Which being confirmed by the King's Declaration, ALL the
 “ *Ecclesiastics, Monks, Nuns, and OTHERS, in every Diocese, were*
 “ OBLIGED to subscribe: those, who refused, being INTERDICTED
 “ and EXCOMMUNICATED.” *Biographical Diction.* Vol. VII. p. 17.

“ in the FIVE PROPOSITIONS (q). In vain did the same Pontiff deal out his Anathemas, A. D. 1713. against the same *Five Propositions* of Jansenius, and against the *Hundred and One Propositions* extracted from Father *Quesnell*. The Papal Fulminations, though launched by pretended Infallibility, and seconded by all the real Power of the Civil Arm, have not been able to eradicate the *Good Seed* sown by Jansenius in *France* and *Flanders*. It is true, the Seed is, at present, and has been from the first, under the Harrow of Persecution: insomuch that, in *France* especially, it is far less dangerous to be taken for an *Atheist*, than for a *Jansenist*. Truth, however, at the long Run, will and must prevail. It is more than probable, that, in some future Period, *Jansenius* (as having laid the first stone) will be considered as the virtual Reformer of *France*.—I have dwelt, thus largely, on the violent Efforts of the *Romish Church* to extinguish the minutest Glimmerings of Calvinism; the more clearly to demonstrate, either the utter *Ignorance*, or the criminal *Unfairness*, of Mr *Sellon*, which induced him to aver, that the *Calvinistic System* is the System of the Church of *Rome*, and embraced by *Ten Papists out of Eleven*.

I have already observed, that, so low down as the Year 1713, the *Hundred and One Propositions*, extracted from the Writings of *Quesnell*, were CONDEMNED at *Rome*, as the very Quintessence of *Heresy*. Some of these Propositions (for I have not Room to recite them all) were as follow:

“ The GRACE of *Jesus Christ*, the efficacious Principle of all Good, is necessary to every good Action.

“ The Difference between the Jewish and the Christian Covenant” [i. e. the Difference between the Law and the Gospel], “ lies in This: that, in the former, God REQUIRES the Sinner to avoid Sin and to fulfill the Law, leaving him,
“ at

“ *at the same Time, in his State of Inability; whereas, in the latter, God GIVES the Sinner That which He commands, by purifying him with His Grace.*

“ *How great is the Happiness, to be admitted into a Covenant, wherein God CONFERS upon us That which He requires of us!*

“ *GRACE is an Operation of the ALMIGHTY Hand of God, which nothing can hinder or retard.*

“ *When God WILLETH to save a Soul, the undoubted Effect always and every where followeth the Will of God.*

“ *When God accompanys His Command and external Word, with the Unction of his Spirit and the internal Power of His Grace; it then works in the Heart that Obedience which it requires.*

“ *All those, whom God willeth to save by Jesus Christ, are infallibly saved.*

“ *Faith, the Use, the Increase, and the Reward of Faith, are all a GIFT of the PURE BOUNTY of God.*

“ *What is the Church, but the Congregation of the Children of God, adopted in Christ, redeemed by His Blood, living by His Spirit, acting by His Grace, and expecting the Grace of the World to come?*

“ *The CHURCH is composed of ALL THE ELECT and Just of all Ages.*”

These truly scriptural Propositions are, among the rest, recited in the Bull *Unigenitus*, above mentioned; and there stand anathematized by the Church of Rome in these very Words: “ *We do, by this our Constitution, which shall be of PERPETUAL Force and Obligation, declare, CONDEMN, and REJECT, respectively, ALL and EVERY ONE of the Propositions before recited, as FALSE, CAPTIOUS, SHOCKING, OFFENSIVE to pious Ears, SCANDALOUS, PERNICIOUS, RASH, injurious to the Church*” [i. e. to the *Romish Church*] “ *and her Practice; CONTUMELIOUS, not only against the Church, but likewise against the secular Powers; SEDITIOUS, IMPIOUS, BLASPHEMEOUS, HERETICAL, and manifestly reviving several Heresys.—*

“ — — *Who-*

“ — — *Whoſoever ſhall teach, defend, or publiſh them,*
 “ *or ANY of them, jointly or ſeparately; or ſhall treat of*
 “ *them by way of diſpute, either publicly or privately, unleſs*
 “ *it be to impugn them; ſhall, ipſo FaCto, without any other*
 “ *Declaration, incur the CENSURES of the Church, and all*
 “ *other PENALTYS appointed by the Law againſt ſuch De-*
 “ *linquents (r).”* Is it poſſible for the Church of Rome to
 execrate and abjure *Calvinism* in ſtronger Terms? And is
 it poſſible for Words to convey clearer and more ſolid
 Proof, that *Popery* and *Arminianism* are (ſo far as theſe
 Points are concerned) *one* and the *ſame*? And is it poſſible
 for Impudence itſelf to forge a more flagrant Untruth,
 than by ſaying, that *Arminianism* is *not Popery*, and that
ten Papiſts out of Eleven hold Predeſtination? Well may
 the Author of THE CONFESSIOAL (than whom, with all
 his Miſtakes, ſcarce any Age has produced a more keen
 and nervous Reaſoner) make the following juſt and in-
 conteſtable Remark: “our firſt Reformers framed and
 “ placed the XXXIX Articles, and more particularly thoſe
 “ called *Calvinistical*, as the SUREST and STRONGEST
 “ BARRIERS to keep out *POPERY* (s).”

In

(r) See the Bull *Unigenitus*, prefixed to *Ruſſel's* Tranſlation of *Queſnel* on the N. T. Vol. I.

(s) *Confessional*, p. 331. Edition 3d. What immediately fol-
 lows the above Citation, I here throw into a Note, becauſe,
 though too important to be entirely omitted, it yet does not di-
 rectly pertain to the Argument I am upon. “A Proteſtant Di-
 “ vine,” adds this maſterly Writer, “may poſſibly have his Ob-
 “ jections to the plain Senſe of theſe Articles” [i. e. to the plain
 Senſe of the *Calvinistical* Articles of the Church of England]:
 “but, in this Caſe, he ought not to SUBSCRIBE them at all. For
 “if he can bring himſelf to aſſent to and ſubſcribe them in a Ca-
 “ tholic” [i. e. in a *Popiſh-Arminian*] “Senſe, I would deſire to
 “know what Security the Church has, that he does not put the
 “like CATHOLIC Senſe (with which he may be furniſhed by the
 “*Jefuits*) upon thoſe Articles which concern *Transubſtantiation*
 “and *Purgatory*?”

In Consequence of the above Papal Fulmination, *Quesnel* (whose Crime only consisted in his having a little more spiritual Light than most of his Brethren) was, first, banished from *Paris*; then, thrown into a Dungeon at *Brussels*, from whence, after almost *four* Months Imprisonment, he found Means to make his Escape into *Holland*, where he died, A. D. 1719, after an Exile of about *fifteen* Years. — The *Bull* itself, by which his 101 Propositions were condemned, is, to this very Day, so strictly enforced in *France*, that the Clergy of that Kingdom (though, generally, less bigotted, than the Clergy of other Popish Countries) will not administer the last Offices to a Dying Person, until he has solemnly declared his *Detestation* of the Doctrines which those Propositions contain. — What a *Front*, then, must Mr Sellon have, to insinuate, that ten Papists, out of Eleven, hold the Doctrine of Grace; when, even in *France*, where Popery sits much lighter than in any other Unreformed Nation, not a single Papist, though lying on the Bed of Death, is permitted to receive the Sacrament, until he has, with his dying Breath, *disavowed* the Doctrine of Predestination in all its Branches.

Let me further ask the Calumniator, Whether he ever knew a single Person, who, from being a Doctrinal Calvinist, was perverted to the Church of *Rome*? But I myself have known several *Arminians*, who were carried over to *Popery* with very little Difficulty; and, from being half-Protestants, easily commenced complete Romanists (t).

Ask

(t) How natural and easy the Transition is, from *Arminianism*, to avowed *Popery*; is evident, among others, from the Examples of *Bolsec* and *Bertius*, abroad; and, at home, from those of *William Barrett*, and *Godfrey Goodman*, Bishop of *Gloucester*.

Jerom Bolsec was, originally, a *Carmelite* Friar of *Paris*. From Motives either of Conscience, or of secular Interest, he forsook his Order; and, leaving *France*, made open Profession of the Protestant Religion. Among other Places, he went, says *Bayle*, “to
“ *Geneva*,

Ask your Friend and Dictator, Mr *John Wesley*, whether Numbers of *his Followers* have not, from Time to Time, gone

“ *Geneva*, as a Physician : but, finding that he did not distinguish himself to his Satisfaction in that Profession, he set up for Divinity ; and dogmatized, at first, in private, on the mystery of Predestination, according to the Principles of *Pelagius*, and afterwards had the Boldness to make a public Discourse against the received Opinion. As soon as his Conversation with certain Persons, to infect them with his *Pelagianism*, was known ; *Calvin* went to see him, and censured him mildly : afterwards, he sent for him to his House, and endeavoured to reclaim him from his Error. But this did not hinder *Bolsec* from delivering, in Public, an insulting Discourse against the Decree of Eternal Predestination. It is thought, that he was the bolder because he imagined that *Calvin* was not among his Auditors. He had such a Thought, because he did not see him [sitting] in his [usual] Place. The Reason was, *Calvin*, not coming in till after the Discourse was begun, kept himself hid behind the Crowd.” (*Bayle’s Hist. Dict. Vol. 2. Art. Bolsec.*) Mr *Samuel Clark*, a pious, learned, and laborious Writer, of the last Century, informs us (see his *Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*, Part I. p. 298, 299.) that *Bolsec* delivered this Harangue, October 16, 1551. taking, for his Text, these Words, “ *He that is of God, heareth the Words of God* : whence he took Occasion to preach up *Free-will*, and that *Predestination* was out of *Works foreseen*.”—*Calvin* himself (see *Bayle*, ut suprà.) in a Letter which he wrote to the *Swiss* churches, says, that, among other Things asserted by *Bolsec*, on the above, or a similar Occasion, the Wretch spoke to this Effect : That “ Men do not therefore obtain Salvation, because they are Elected ; but are therefore Elected, because they believe : and that no Man is reprobate by the bare Decree of God, but only those who deprive themselves of the common Election ” Being after several fruitless Efforts to reclaim him, banished from *Geneva*, he retired into the Territory of *Bern* : where, says Mr *Clark*, “ he was the Cause of many and great Stirs.” After being twice expelled from thence, on Account of his turbulent Behavior ; he returned into *France* : and, “ presently after, when he saw the

“ [*French*]

gone off to the *Mother of Abominations*? Particularly, in *Bristol*: where, I have been credibly informed, the Romish Priests

“ [French] Churches under Affliction, he fell back to POPERY, “ loading the Reformed Churches with many Reproaches.”— Thus did this Man’s Tenets of *Free-will, conditional Predestination, universal Grace, and Salvation by Works*, ripen him for a Relapse to the Church of *Rome*.

Those Principles had the same Effect on *Peter Bertius*. He was an intimate Friend, and devoted Admirer, of *Arminius*. This gradually prepared him for his subsequent Apostacy to Popery. *Arminius* died the 19th of October, 1609. And who so fit to deliver his Funeral Oration (or, in modern Language, to preach his Funeral Sermon,) as his good Friend and Coadjutor *Bertius*? Preached by him it accordingly was, on the 22d of the same Month, which was the Day of *Arminius*’s Interment. And, to this very Hour, the said funeral Oration (notwithstanding the Orator’s Revolt to the Church of *Rome* a few Years after) stands prefixed to all the Editions of *Arminius*’s Works, which I have ever seen: as if *Popery* and *Arminianism* were fated to be inseparable. I do not recollect to have met with the exact *Æra* of *Bertius*’s declaring himself a Papist. But, in the Collection of Arch-bishop *Usher*’s Letters, annexed to his Life by Dr *Parr*, I find the following Paragraph, in a Letter from Dr *Ward* to that Prelate: “ your Lordship “ was partly acquainted with a Business which I had undertaken, “ to answer one Chapter of [Cardinal] *Perron*’s latest Work, set “ out after his Decease. Since that Time, *Petrus Bertius*, the “ *Remonstrant* [i. e. the *Arminian*,] is turned *Roman Catholic*, “ and hath undertaken the Translation of that whole Book “ into Latin.” This Letter is dated *September 25, 1622*.—In one from Bishop *Usher*, to the same Dr *Ward* (who was Master of *Sidney College, Cambridge*, and succeeded Bishop *Davenant* in the *Margaret* Professorship of Divinity,) the excellent Prelate tells him, “ I do very well approve the Judgement of them, who “ advised you to handle the Controversys mentioned in that Chap- “ ter of Cardinal *Perron*’s Book, which *Bertius* pretendeth to have “ been the principal Motive of his verifying the Title of his old “ Book, *Hymenæus Defector*. His Oration of the Motives to his “ Perversion,

Priests cry him up (not without Reason) as a very *moderate* and a very *useful* Man (u).

SECTION

“ Perversion, I saw, before I left *England*: than which, I never
 “ yet did see a more silly and miserable Discourse proceed from
 “ the Hands of a learned Man.” *Let. L. and LIII. p. 82 and 85.*
 Thus easy, quick, and ready, is it to pass, from the Religion of
James Arminius, to that of Cardinal *James Duvy du Perron*!

A sadly memorable Instance, of the same Kind, happened, in
 our own Land, some Years after. *Goafrey Goodman*, the unwor-
 thy Bishop of *Gloucester*, who had long swam with *Laud* in almost
 every Measure that conduced to the Extension of *Arminianism*,
Civil Tyranny, and *Ecclesiastical Pomp*; at length declared, in his
 last Will, that he dyed “ *In the Faith and Communion of the Mo-*
 “ *ther Church of Rome.*” But I dismiss so shocking an Event,
 with that Observation of the Apostle: *They went out from us, but*
they were not of us; for, *if they had been of us, they would, doubt-*
less, have continued with us. Yet must I subjoin the Remark of
Echard: “ As this was the only Apostate *English* Bishop, since
 “ the Reformation; so he was the only one, who left children to
 “ beg their Bread.” *Ech Hist of Engl. Vol. 2. p. 782.*

The Case of *William Barrett*, Fellow of *Gonville and Caius*
College, Cambridge, is well known. I have, already, given a
 Sketch of his History, and taken notice of his Revolt to *Popery*,
 in my former Pamphlet, entitled, *The Church of England vindic-*
ated from the Charge of Arminianism, p 48, &c.

(u) Many Specimens might be given of Mr *Wesley*’s lax Pro-
 testantism. Among them, every considerate Reader must rank
 the following Paragraph: “ *Justification by Works is not the funda-*
 “ *mental Doctrine of Popery; but the Universality of the Romish*
 “ *Church, and the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. And to call*
 “ *ANY one a PAPIST, who denies THESE, is neither Charity nor*
 “ *Justice*” (Page the 9th of a two penny Tract, written by Mr
John Wesley, and entitled, *A Letter to a Gentleman at Bristol*
 1758)—According to this Reasoning, a Man may hold *Transub-*
stantiation, *Ecclesiastical Infallibility*, *Purgatory*, *Image worship*,
Invocation of Saints and Angels, &c. &c. and yet be a good Pro-
 testant all the while! The French Clergy (for Instance,) who put

SECTION V.

*The Objection, drawn from the supposed Calvinism
of Thomas Aquinas, refuted: with
a Word concerning St Austin.*

BUT, it seems, AUSTIN and AQUINAS were “*Two Champions for Predestination:*” and “*their names,*” I am farther told, “*have as much Weight, in the Church of Rome, as they have with (x)*” the Vicar of Broad Hembury. I am apt to think, that Mr Sellon’s Acquaintance, either with *St Austin’s* Writings, or with those of *Aquinas*, is, at best, extremely slender. However, his bare mention of those foreign Names may serve to give Mr *Wesley’s* old Women an huge Idea of “*Brother Sellon’s purdigious Larning.*”

Whatever may be said for the truly admirable Bishop of *Hippo*; it is certain, that the ingenious Native of *Aquino* was by no means a *consistent* Predestinarian. He had, indeed, his lucid Intervals: but, if the *Armimans* should find themselves at a Loss for Quibbles, I would recommend to them a diligent Perusal of that laborious Hair-splitter; who will furnish them, in their own Way, with many useful and necessary *Quirks*, without the Assistance whereof, their System had, long ago, lost its Hold even on the Prejudiced and the Superficial.

a Query on the Pope’s *Supremacy*, but are (or, at least, generally *profess* themselves to be) stiff Romanists in most other Points, cannot, in Mr *Wesley’s* Estimation, be, with “*Charity and Justice,*” considered as *Papists*! Does not such a bare-faced Concession look as if the Conceder himself was fearful (and upon very good Grounds) lest, without a prudent Caveat of that Kind, the Charge of *Poper*, might fall heavy on *Somebody else*?

(x) *Sellon*, p. 3.

Of all *Aquinas's* numerous Writings (which are said to amount to 17 folio Volumes, I have only his *Summa Theologiae*, and his *Commentaries* on the Gospels, and St Paul's Epistles. To collect all the Semi-pelagian Passages, with which those two Performances are fraught, would be a Task equally prolix and unprofitable. My Citations, therefore, shall be few and short: but such as may suffice to evince, that this scholastic Papist does, in many material Points respecting the present Argument, shake Hands from his Grave, with his younger Brethren, the modern Arminians. "The Book of Life," says he, "is the Enrollment of those who are ordained to Life eternal.—Whoever is in present Possession of Grace, is, by Virtue of that very Possession, DESERVING of eternal Life. This Ordination, however, sometimes FAILS: for, some People are ordained to have eternal Life, by the" [inherent] "Grace they possess; which eternal Life, they, notwithstanding, COME SHORT OF, by the Commission of deadly Sin. They who are appointed to Life eternal, not by God's Predestination, but only through the Grace" [they are Partakers of,] are said to be written in the Book of Life, NOT ABSOLUTELY, but under certain Limitations (y)." Let me add a Word, from this Author, concerning *Justification*, which he supposes to be synonymous with the Infusion of Grace: "Free-will," says he, "is essential to the nature of Man: consequently, in that Person, who has the Use of his Free will, God worketh no Motion unto Righteousness

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" without

(y) *Est enim Liber vitæ Conscriptio Ordinatorum in vitam æternam. Quicumque enim Gratiam habet, ex hoc ipso est DIGNUS vitam æternâ. Et hæc Ordinatio DEFICIT interdum: quia aliqui ordinati sunt, ex Gratiâ habitâ, ad habendum vitam æternam, à quâ tamen DEFICIUNT per Peccatum mortale—Illi qui sunt ordinati ad habendum vitam æternam non ex Prædestinatione Divinæ, sed solùm ex Gratiâ; dicuntur esse scripti in Libro vitæ, non simpliciter, sed secundum quid. AQUIN. Summ. Pt. 1. Qu. 23. Art. 3. Pag. 61.—Edit. Antwerp. 1585.*

“ without the Motion of the Man's Free-will (z).” In his Comment on the first Epistle to *Timothy*, he thus asserts the *Merit* of Works: “ Spiritual Treasure is no other
 “ than an Assemblage of Merits; which Merits are the
 “ Foundation of that future Building which is prepared
 “ for us in Heaven: for, the whole Preparation of future
 “ Glory is by Merits; which Merits we acquire by Grace;
 “ and this Grace is the Fountain of Merit (a).”

Now let any Man judge, whether this Popish Writer does not, in these and similar Passages, speak the Language of *Pelagius*. That he sometimes stumbles on great and precious Truths, cannot be denied. Where this is the Case, let him have his due Commendation. But the least that can be said, is, that those of his Lucubrations, which I have met with, abound with such astonishing self-contradictions, as are only to be paralleled in the puny Publications wherewith Mr *John Wesley* hath edified his Readers.

So much for *Thomas Aquinas*. Next, for the celebrated *African Bishop*; concerning whom, Mr *Sellon* thus descants: “ *AUSTIN's Writings are judged to confirm the Popish Doc-*
 “ *trines so much, that the Effigy of that Father is set with*
 “ *three others, to support the Papal Chair.*” And suppose I was to make the Effigy of *Arminius* serve as a Leg to my Chair, would it thence follow that I am an Arminian? As little does it follow, that the Doctrine of Predestination asserted by *St Austin*, is the received Doctrine of *Rome*,
 only

(z) *Homo autem secundum propriam Naturam habet, quodd sit Liberi Arbitrii: Et ideò, in eo, qui habet usum Liberi Arbitrii, non fit Motio à Deo, ad Justitiam, absque Motu Liberi Arbitrii.* AQUIN. *Ibid.* 1. 2dæ Quæst. 113. Art. 3. p. 245.

(a) *Thesaurus spiritualis est Congregatio Meritorum: quæ sunt Fundamentum futuri Ædificii, quod nobis præparatur in Cælo. Quia tota Præparatio futuræ Gloriæ est per Merita, quæ acquirimus per Gratiam, quæ est Principium merendi.* Ejusdem *Lect.* 4. in 1 *Tim.* VI. p. 410.—Edit. *Antwerp.* 1620.

only because the Pope affects to sit on the Shoulders of *Austin's* wooden Image. If my Adversary has only such *wooden Arguments* to urge, the Interest of his dearly beloved Arminianism will be as ridiculously and as feebly supported, as is the Pope's (*b*) Chair by the worm-eaten Effigy.—Is it true, that the System of Grace, maintained by *Austin*, is espoused by the *Roman Church*? Quite the reverse. The writers, of that Communion, do, indeed, make very pompous Use of St *Austin's* name, and pretend to pay no little Deference to his Authority: but with just as much *Sincerity*, as Mr *Sellon* professes to revere and vindicate the Church of *England*. Papists dazzle the Vulgar by the Mention of St *Austin*, that the Brightness of his name may render their Apostacy from his Doctrines imperceivable.

With what *Propriety* St *AUSTIN's* Image lends its shoulder to the Pope's Haunch, may be judged from the following brief Sketch of *Austin's* Doctrine: which I shall give in the words of the honest and learned Mr *Du Pin*.

“Sinners,” says St *Augustin*, “sin voluntarily, and
“without Compulsion: and they cannot *complain* that God
“hath denyed them his Grace, or the Gift of Perseverance,

H 2

since

(*b*) After all, what if *none* of the four supporting Images should be *really* representative of St *Austin*? I am aware, that the contrary has been affirmed, by Authority incomparably more credible, than that of Mr *Sellon*. I, therefore, only start the Query as a bare Possibility. But, were it even fact, it would not be the *first* Mistake of the Kind, into which the Holy Infallible See hath fallen. Witness the following famous Instance. “Till the
“Year 1662, the Bishops of *Rome* thought they had a pregnant
“Proof, not only of St *Peter's* erecting their Chair, but of his
“sitting in it himself: for, till that Year, the *very Chair*, on
“which, they believed, or would make others believe, he [St
“*Peter*] had sat, was shewn, and exposed to public Adoration,
“on the 18th of *January*, the Festival of the said Chair. But
“while it was clearing, in order to be set up in some conspi-

cuous

“ since HE OWES HIS GRACE TO NO-BODY (c).” The Historian goes on : “ He [*Auſlin*] again inſiſteth upon the “ ſame Matter, and upon the ſame Principles, in both the “ Books which he writ in Answer to *Hilary’s* and *Proſper’s* “ Letters. The firſt is, *Of the PREDESTINATION of the* “ *Saints*; and the ſecond, *Of the GIFT of PERSEVE-* “ *RANCE*: wherein he demonſtrates, that the Beginning “ of Faith and good Purpoſes is the *Gift of God*; and that “ ſo, our *Predeſtination*, or *Vocation*, doth NOT depend “ upon OUR MERITS. The ſecond Book concerns the “ Gift of *Perſeverance*; which he ſhews to depend equally “ on God, as the Beginning of our Conversion. St *Au-* “ *guſtin* compoſed theſe Treatiſes, in the Year 429 (d).

“ St *Auguſtin’s* principles, concerning *Predeſtination* and “ *Reprobation*, do exactly agree with his Opinion touch- “ ing *Grace*. Both thoſe Decrees, according to Him, “ ſuppoſe the Fore-knowledge of Original Sin, and of “ the Corruption of the whole Maſs of Mankind. If God “ would ſuffer *all Men* to remain there, none could com- “ plain of that ſeverity, ſeeing they are all guilty and “ doomed to Damnation, becauſe of the Sin of the firſt “ Man. But God reſolved, *from all Eternity*, to deliver “ *ſome*, whom he had choſen out of pure *Mercy*, without “ any Regard to their future Merits; and, from all Eter- “ nity, he prepared, for *them* that were thus choſen, thoſe “ *Gifts and Graces* which are neceſſary to ſave them INFAL- “ LIELY: and theſe he beſtows upon them in Time. ALL “ *theſe*, therefore, that are of the Number of the ELECT, “ hear

“ cuous Place of the *Vatican*; the *Twelve Labors of HERCULES*, “ unluckily, appeared to be engraved on it. ‘ Our Worſhip, “ however,’ ſays *Giacomo Bartolini*, who was preſent at this Diſ- “ covery, and relates it, ‘ was not miſplaced: ſince it was not to “ the Word we paid it, but to the Prince of Apoſtles, St *PETER*.’ “ Bower’s Hiſt. of the Popes, Vol. I. p. 7.

(c) *Dupin’s Hiſt. of Eccleſiaſtical Writers*, Vol. 3. p. 203.

(d) *Ibid.*

“ hear the Gospel, and *believe*, and *persevere* in the Faith
 “ working by Love, *to the End* of their Lives. If they
 “ chance to wander from the right Way, they *return*, and
 “ *repent* of their Sins : and *it is CERTAIN*, that *they shall*
 “ ALL die in the Faith of Jesus Christ (*e*).”

Let the Reader but compare the above Summary of St *Austin's* Doctrine, with the Determinations of the Council of *Trent*, quoted in the III^d of the preceding Sections ; and he will, at first View, perceive, how little Stress is to be laid on the Pope's reposing his Loins upon St *Austin's* Effigy, while he tramples the leading (*f*) Doctrines of that Predestinarian Saint under foot, and anathematizes all who embrace them.

H 3

Had

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 207, 206 — These Citations demonstrate the justness of Mr *Bayle's* following Remark. It is certain,” says this shrewd, perspicacious Writer, “ that the Engagement, which
 “ the Church of *Rome* is under, to respect St *Austin's* System, casts
 “ her into a Perplexity which is very ridiculous. It is manifest
 “ to all men, who examine Things without Prejudice and with
 “ sufficient Abilities, that *Austin's* Doctrine, and that of *Jansenius*,
 “ are one and the same : so that we cannot, without Indignation,
 “ behold the Court of *Rome* boasting to have condemned *Jansenius*
 “ and yet to have preserved St *Austin* in all his Glory. These
 “ are two Things, altogether inconsistent. More than this, the
 “ Council of *Trent*, in condemning CALVIN's Doctrine of
 “ *Free-will*, did necessarily condemn *that* of St AUSTIN : for
 “ no Calvinist ever denied, or can deny, the Concurrence of the
 “ Human Will, and the Liberty of the Soul, IN THAT SENSE
 “ which St *Austin* has given to the Words Concurrence, Co-operation, and Liberty. So that when they ” [i. e. the *Papists*]
 “ boast of having St *Austin's* Faith, it is only meant *to preserve a*
 “ *Decorum*, and to save their System from the Destruction which
 “ a sincere Confession of the Truth must necessarily occasion.”
Bayle's Hist. Dict. Vol. 1. Art. *Augustin*.

(*f*) This is evident, among other Proofs, from the following Instance : some of St *Austin's* Works, concerning *Grace* and against *Free-will*, are actually under the Black Mark of the Romish *Index Expurgatorius*.

Had I any Kind of Intercourse with his Arminian Holiness of *Rome*, I would advise him to cashier the Image of St *Austin* from serving any longer as a Support to his Easy Chair. I would recommend to him a *Log*, made of *Ledsham* Ash : which he might soon obtain, by ordering one of his Emissaries (whereof he has a pretty many) in this Kingdom, to procure an Effigy of Mr *Walter Sellon*, as nearly resembling the Original, as it can be made ; to serve — not, indeed, upon due Recollection, as a Stay to his Holiness's Throne — nor even as a Prop to his Foot-Stool — but, which would be perfectly in character, as a Leg to a certain Convenience (a *Sella perforata*, though not the *Sella Porphyretica*), whereon, I presume, his Holiness deigns, occasionally, to sit : and which, the wooden Effigy of this *wooden* Arminian would, with all imaginable Propriety and Gracefulness, assist in supporting.

SECTION VI.

The Charge of Ranterism refuted and retorted.

PASS we, Now, to a Slander against the *Calvinistic* Doctrines, drawn from a very different Topic. “ANTI-NOMIANISM and RANTERISM are,” according to my Adversary, “the genuine Effects of Absolute Predestination.” As

Expurgatorius. For the Knowledge of which, I am indebted to the Information of *Spanhemius*. “In Doctrinam illius [*Augustini*] “de *Gratiâ & Libero Arbitrio*, iniquiora sunt sæpe Judicia Familiæ Jesuitarum & obvia. Nec pauca Inquisitores Hispanici & “Index Expurgatorius in *Augustino* damnant, obelo iis Confiscendâ.” *Spanhem. Operam*, Tom. 1. 925.

—As to *Antinomianism*, I have, elsewhere (g), shewn *What* it is, and demonstrated that it no more follows from *Calvinism*, than Midnight from the Sun. But, as the Charge of *Ranterism* may carry a *new* Appearance, to those who are unacquainted with the Scurrilities of those superannuated Arminians from whose Quiver Mr *Sellen* has borrowed his Shafts; I will not dismiss it, without some Examination.

The Sect, who, in the Reign of *Charles I.* justly went by the Name of *Ranters*; were no other than the Spawn, or Continuation, of the (b) *Familists*, who made so much Noise under the Administration of *Elizabeth*. To judge, therefore, of the Branch, we must review the Parent-Tree. To trace the *Rise*, and ascertain the *Principles*, of the *Ranters*; we must follow the Stream to the Spring, by carrying up our Enquiries to the *Familists* themselves.

The learned *Camden*, in his History of Queen *Elizabeth*, informs us, under the Year 1580, That “not only perfidious Subjects, but also *Foreigners*, out of *Holland*, A COUNTRY (i) FRUITFUL OF HERETICS, began, at this Time, to trouble the Peace of the Church and Commonwealth of *England*. Under a Shew of singular Integrity and *Sanctity*, they insinuated themselves into the Affections of the *ignorant, common* People; and then instilled into their Minds several damnable Heresies, manifestly repugnant to the Christian Faith: using *uncouth* and *strange* Kind of Expressions. These named themselves of the *Family of Love*, or *House of Charity*. They persuaded their Followers, that those *only* were elected, and should be saved, who were admitted into *that* Family;

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mily ;

(g) See my *Carveat against Unsound Doctrines*, p. 47.

(b) FULLER's *Church History of Britain*; B. x. S. 2. p. 33.

(i) I do not wonder at *this* Remark of the Historian. Nor will any other unprejudiced Person, who considers, that, among the rest, *Arminius* (at whom, and his Adherents, Mr *Camden* strongly seems to glance in this Sentence) was a *Dutchman*.

“mily; and *all* the rest, Reprobates, and to be damned :
 “And that it was lawful for them to deny, upon their
 “Oath, before a Magistrate, whatsoever they pleased ;
 “or before any other, who was not of *their* Family.”
 He adds, that their Leader, *Henry Nicholas*, “with a blas-
 “phemous Mouth, gave out, that *he partook of God, and*
 “*God* [partook] *of his Humanity.*”

King *James I.* has given us a miniature Drawing of these People, sketched with his own Hand : “That vile
 “Sect,” says his Majesty, “called the *Familie of Love*,
 “think *themselves* only pure, and, in a manner, without
 “Sinne; the only true Church, and only worthie to bee
 “participant of the Sacraments; and all the rest of the
 “World to bee but Abomination in the Sight of God (k).”

Hence it appears, that these wretched Fanatics (like some others I could easily name) held, 1. That Mens *Election* or *Reprobation* was conditional; and that the Condition was, their *joining*, or *not joining*, themselves to this pretended Family of Love : consequently, 2. That Salvation did not extend beyond the Purlieu of their own Sect : 3. That Faith was not to be kept with any but *Themselves* : and, 4. That Men might, in the present Life, be in a manner *without Sin* (l). Their Tenets, therefore, appear

(k) *Basilicon Doron*, Pref. p. 8. Edit. 1603.

(l) Of this Sect was *Velsius*, an *Hollander*, who, in the Year 1563, made much Disturbance among the *Dutch* Congregation in *London*. (See *Strype's Annals* of the 12 first Years of *Elizabeth*; chap. 34.)—This was the same *Velsius*, who, “In the Year 1556,
 “held a Dispute at *Frankfort*, with one *Horne*, who appeared in
 “behalf of *Calvin's* Doctrine of Absolute Predestination, and
 “against Free will. Him *Velsius* called *Ambitionis et περδοξίας*,
 “*vilissimum mancipium*, i. e. a most vile Slave of Ambition and
 “Vainglory. He asserted, That he that was born again might
 “not sin, and, in effect, *could not sin*: that is, *if he* REMAINED in
 “the Grace of Regeneration” (*Strype*, Ibid. p. 347.)—so far were these Ranting Freewillers from *Calvinism*!

appear to have been a Farrago of Pelagianism, Popery, and Enthusiasm.

Henry Nicholas, a Native of *Amsterdam*, and the Founder of this Sect, had, it seems, began to sow his Tares in *England*, many Years before the Æra assigned by *Camden*: though it was not, perhaps, until about the Year 1580, that the *Familists* were sufficiently numerous and daring, to alarm the Vigilance of Government. But the Enthusiast had, before, taken a Voyage hither, in the Reign of King *Edward VI.* and, joining himself, at first, to a *Dutch Church* in *London*, perverted “a Number of *Artificers* and “*filly Women* (m).”

From a Paper, subscribed by one of these Sectarians, and published by Mr *Strype*, we may derive still stronger Light into some of their Distinguishing Principles. It seems, in the Year 1581, Dr *Wolton*, Bishop of *Exeter*, deprived the Rector of *Lidford*, in *Devonshire*, for being a *Familist*, or Ranter. This Ranter's Name was *Anthony Randal*: who, among other Heterodoxies, held, That the Mosaic History of Adam's Temptation and Fall was a mere *Allegory*: “Moreover, That as many as receive Jesus “Christ and his Doctrine, did *fully* keep *all* the Moral “Law, and lived pure *without Sinning* (n).” In the Summary of Assertions, which the said *Anthony Randal* acknowledged under his own Hand, I find the following Passages. “He saith, That he cannot put down” [i. e. safely commit to Writing] “what he hath learned of *Predestination*, “or *Providence*, without speaking, or at least seeming to “speak, against the Law of the Realm.—He saith, he “hath taught openly, and will teach, during his Life “(being not forbidden by the Prince), that as many as “receive Jesus Christ and His Doctrine, do *fulfill, keep,* “and do, *ALL the Moral Law* given by God to Moses: “and so to *live clean and clear WITHOUT SINNING*, or
“ the

(m) *Fuller's Church Hist.* Book IX. p. 112.

(n) *Strype's Life of Whitgift*, p. 222.

“ the Act of Sin. And moreover, That every one that
 “ preacheth any Doctrine contrary to This, neither
 “ knoweth God, or his Christ, nor yet the Power and
 “ Strength of the Holy Spirit (o).” Let me make a short
 Stricture on these two Paragraphs. It is sufficiently plain,
 1. That the Ranter denied *Predestination*, and had (at best)
 but a very lax Idea of Divine *Providence*: Yet, 2. He was
 honest enough to grant, that the Doctrines of *Predestination*
 and *Providence* were a Part of the National Belief, established
 by “ The Law of the Realm.” Hence, 3. He would not
 venture to blaspheme those Doctrines under his Hand-
 Writing, for Fear of the Consequences that might follow.
 Herein, the Ranter acted discretely enough. 4. He was
 an avowed *Perfectionist*: And, 5. Was a most *uncharitable*
Bigot; else he had never affirmed, that *Every one*, who
 preaches against his ranting Doctrine of *sinless Perfection*,
 knows *nothing* of God, or of Christ, or of the Holy Spirit.
 —Who, on this Occasion, can help thinking on Messieurs
John Wesley and *Walter Sellon*? I mean, so far as concerns
 the Tenet of *Perfection*. For, on the Articles of *Predesti-*
nation and *Providence*, even Ranting *Randal* himself would
 not venture to fly so openly in the Face of the “ Law of the
 “ Realm,” as have his Ranting Successors, the two Ad-
 venturers above mentioned.

In the second Year of *James I.* the Ranters, or Familists,
 (call them which you please,) presented a very long *Peti-*
tion to that Monarch; in which they had, at last, the Cou-
 rage to own their firm belief of *Universal Redemption*, and,
 not obscurely, hinted their Attachment to the Doctrine of
Free-will. The Whole Petition may be read in *Fuller* (p).
 I shall content myself with transcribing two or three Para-
 graphs. They term themselves “ *The Family of Love*, or
 “ *of God*,” and disclaim all Affinity to the Puritans, whom
 they

(o) *Appendix* to Ditto, p. 93.

(p) *Church Hist. of Brit.* Book X. Sect. 18.

they brand with the Epithets of “*disobedient, brain-sick, proud-minded, heady, and hypocritical*: whose Malice,” add the Ranters, “hath, for five and twenty Years past, and upwards, and ever since, with many untrue Suggestions, and most foule Errors and odious Crimes (the which we could then, if need were, prove,) fought our utter Overthrow and Destruction.” The *Puritans*, I dare believe, deemed themselves to be, as indeed they were, *honored* by the low Slanders of these wild and extravagant Sectarists.—But, would we think it possible? this very Family of *Love*, (or of *Lust* rather, says FULLER,) these identical *Ranters*, pretended, with as much Confidence and as little Truth as Messieurs *John* and *Walter* do at this Day, to be very sound and zealous Members of the *Church of England*! “If,” continue the Petitioners, “we do vary, or swerve, from the *Established Religion* in this Land, either in Service, Ceremonys, Sermons, or Sacraments;—then let us be rejected for Sectaries, and never receive the Benefit of Subjects.” We may learn, from this astonishing Instance of Impudence and Falshood, that it is no *new* Thing, with Schismatics, to lay the Bratts of their own Invention at the Door of the *Church*. Mr *Wesley*, among others, seeks much to avail himself of this audacious Artifice. As if the Church of England was the common Receptacle of Error, and looked ninety-nine Ways at once!

But to resume the Petition. I shall not, here, stay to enquire into the Merits of the Question concerning the *Universality* of Redemption and Grace. I shall only shew, from the very Words of the *Ranters* themselves, that *they* held the Universality of Both. They tell the King, That the Writings of *Henry Nicholas* were written and published, “To the End that *ALL People*, when they hear or read his Writing, might endeavor to bring forth the Fruits of Repentance, according as all the holy Scripture doth likewise require the same of *every* one:”

“ *one* : and that they might, in that Sort, become *saved*,
 “ through Jesus Christ the Savior of *all the World*.” They
 add, that *Nicholas’s* Books were written by an immediate
 Impulse from Heaven : or, to use their own Phrazeology,
 that his Productions did “ proceed out of the great Grace
 “ and Love of God and Christ *toward ALL Kings, Princes,*
 “ *Rulers, and PEOPLE, upon the Universal Earth,* to their
 “ *Salvation, Unity, Peace, and Concord in the same godly*
 “ *Love.*”

“ This *Family of Love*,” says merry old *Fuller*, “ who
 “ shut their Doors before, now ” [i. e. about A.D. 1655]
 “ keep *open House* : yea, Family is too narrow a Name
 “ for them ; they are grown so numerous. Formerly,
 “ by their own Confession in this Petition, they had
 “ *THREE Qualities ; few, poor, and unlearned.* For the
 “ last, *Billa vera* : their *Lack of Learning* they still retain :
 “ being otherwise *many*, and some *rich* : but all under the
 “ Name of RANTERS. And thus,” adds the facetious
 Historian, “ I fairly leave *them*, on Condition they will
 “ fairly leave *me*, that I may hear no more of them for de-
 “ livering Truth and my own Conscience, in what I have
 “ written concerning their Opinions (q).”

By this Time, the Reader must clearly see, with how
 little Reason and Justice Mr Sellon pronounces *Ranterism*
 to be the genuine Effect of the Doctrine of *Predestination*.
 So far from being an *Effect* of it, it is totally and diametri-
 cally the *reverse* of that Doctrine, in every Point of View.
 Mr Sellon is the *Ranter*, both in the *speculative* and *practical*
 Sense of the Term. *Speculatively* : for he avowedly holds,
 with his ranting Brethren of the two last Centurys, that
 our Lord is the *intentional* Savior of all the World, without
 any Exception ; and that the *Grace* of God extends “ to
 “ *all People upon the Universal Earth.*” Nay, on the Ar-
 ticle of *sinless Perfection*, this modern Arminian exceeds the
 Madneſs

Madness of his antient Brethren. For, *some* of them only asserted, that *People may be* IN A MANNER *without Sin* : whereas, the still more illuminated Mr Sellon affirms, with the *hottest* of the elder Sect, that *People may be* TOTALLY *without Sin*. In which Repeat, he out-rants many of the old Ranters themselves.—But what is empty Speculation, if unproductive of substantial *Practice* ? Herein, likewise, my worthy Assailant comes not a Jot behind the foremost of the primitive Ranters. For, what are his written *works*, but one continued Series of *Ranting* against the Sovereignty and Grace of God, and against all who affirm with the Church (Art. xvii.) that *Predestination to Life is the EVER-LASTING PURPOSE of God, whereby, before the Foundations of the World were laid, He hath CONSTANTLY DECREED, by his Counsel, secret to us, to deliver from Curse and Damnation THOSE whom he hath CHOSEN in Christ OUT OF Mankind* ? And yet (so exactly does he tread in the Footsteps of the “Family of Love,”) Mr Sellon would, like *them*, fain cajole his Readers into an Opinion that he is “no *Seetary*, nor doth *vary*, nor *swerve*, from the *Established* “Religion of this Land !”—Thus, though he has Reason enough to be *ashamed* of his Relations, the Ranters ; he can hardly, I imagine, have the Assurance to *dis-own* them. Should he, however, be sufficiently case-hardened, to *deny* the Consanguinity ; he bears the *Family-Likeness* so strongly, that in vain would he attempt to shuffle off the Name, while every Feature and Line of his Doctrinal Physiognomy compels us to write RANTER upon his Forehead.

SECTION

SECTION VII.

An Enquiry into the Judgement of the earliest FATHERS, concerning the Points in Question.

IN my Letter to Dr N. I took Occasion to observe, that *There is the utmost Reason to believe, that the main Body of the Christian Church (in which I do not include the Arians of those Times) were, for the Four first Centurys, unanimous Believers of the Doctrines now termed Calvinistic (a).* For this Observation, I assigned two Reasons: 1. The Universal Horror and Surprise, which the broaching of Pelagius's Opinions, about the Beginning of the 5th Century, occasioned in the whole Christian Church; and, 2. The Authority of Dr Cave, who asserts, in express terms, that Pelagius *Hæresin NOVAM condidit*, "was the Founder of a NEW Heresy." From whence I inferred, and infer still, that, *if the NON-IMPUTATION of Adam's Offence to his Posterity, and the Bottoming of Predestination and Justification upon HUMAN WORTHINESS, were (as all Historians concur to affirm) Branches of Pelagius's NEW HERESY; it follows, that the OPPOSITE Doctrines, of Adam's Transgression IMPUTED to his Offspring, and of Predestination and Justification by GRACE ALONE, were, and must have been, Branches of the OLD FAITH universally held by the Church for the first 400 Years after Christ.*

These two Arguments Mr Sellon, very prudently, passes over, uncanvassed and unmentioned: and skips to my ninth Page, from whence he gleans an incidental Remark, on which he thus descants: "Your telling us, p. 9. that, during the four first Ages of the christian Church, Predestination and its concomitant Doctrines were undisputed, for ought appears to the contrary; is no Reason at all." It, certainly,

(a) Church of Engl. vind. from Armin. p. 7.

certainly, is a strong *presumptive* Reason, though not offered as *direct Proof*: for, *two* of the *direct* Reasons had been given before, and still remain, not only undemolished, but untouched, by my cautious Adversary; who with all his furious Zeal for Arminianism, chose rather to let those Reasons keep Possession of the Field than run the risque of burning his own Fingers in assaulting them. I will attend, however, to what he delivers concerning the “*no Reason at all.*”

He grants, that those Doctrines were, for the four first Ages, *undisputed*: which he thus affects to account for; “*Because it does not appear, that there were Any that held them.*” We shall presently see, that they *were* held, and held *firmly* too, by those of the Primitive Fathers, who are commonly distinguished by the Title of *Apostolical*, from their having lived nearest to the Apostles’ Times, i. e. within the *first* Christian Century. In the mean while, let us *weigh* the Mode of Argumentation adopted by Mr Sellon: “*The Doctrines of Grace were THEREFORE undisputed, because it does NOT APPEAR that they were BELIEVED.*” I hardly think, this will stand the Test. Here is an *absolute, peremptory* Assertion, built (not so much as on a Phantom or a Shadow, but) on a mere *non-Appearance*. Besides: does it not, at least, *seem* more probable, that these Doctrines were *therefore* UN-OPPOSED, *because* they were *generally* HELD? For, daily Experience evinces, that, to this Day, those *same* Doctrines meet with *Opposition* enough, from the Persons by whom they are *not* held: and, I am apt to think, that human Nature, as such, is just That, *now*, which it was in the *Four first Centuries*. Had the *Primitive* Times swarmed with Arminians, as the *latter* Times have; the Doctrines of Grace would have been no less *opposed* and *disputed* against Then, than they have been since.

Another Consideration, also, merits our Attention. Not only every *Church*, or collective Body of Professing Christians; but likewise every Individual *Man*, who thinks Religion

ligion and Philosophy worthy of attending to, *must, necessarily, form some Judgment or other, concerning the Points in Debate.* I may venture, therefore, without taking any undue Advantage, to lay it down as a *Datum*, that the Christians of the Four first Ages (who certainly had the Scriptures in their Hands, and heard them read in their public Assemblies) could not possibly be *Neutrals*, on a Subject of such Importance as That of *Predestination and Grace*; but *must*, unavoidably, have either *believed* that Doctrine, or *dis-believed* it: they were on *one Side*, or on the *other*. Indeed, had the Holy Scripture made *no Mention* at all of Predestination, neither *for*, nor *against*; it is possible (and but barely possible), that the Primitive Churches might have thought little or nothing about that sublime Article. But it is undeniable, that the Scriptures make very *express, ample, and repeated* Mention of it: and the Mention, there made of it, *must* be understood in *some Sense or other*. Now, if Predestination and its derivative Doctrines were *at all* thought of, by the first Churches; and if, for ought that can be proved to the contrary, those Doctrines passed *undisputed*, till contravened by Pelagius in the fifth Century; does it not (to say the least) *look* as if they had been universally received and embraced, during the first (*b*) 400 Years after Christ?—We will suppose, a Moment, for
Argument's

(*b*) The masterly Compilers of that learned and valuable Work, entitled, *The History of Popery*, expressly AFFIRM what I only advanced as probable. “This Doctrine,” say they, viz. that ‘God bestoweth his determining Grace on whom he WILL, and to whom he will be DENIETH it;’ “This Doctrine continued generally in the Church, till about the Year 425. at which Time a certain Briton, bred up in the Monastery of Bangor, originally named Morgan (but that Word, in Welch, signifying, *of or belonging to the Sea*, he was thence in Latin called *Pelagius*), began to set on Foot several Errors: as, *denying Original Sin*; *affirming the Number of the Elect and Reprobate not to be definite, but indefinite and indeterminate*; &c.” Hist. of Popery, Vol. 2, P. 355.

Argument's sake, the Doctrines of Grace to have passed *undisputed* among English Protestants, from the Æra of the Reformation, down to the Emerſion of Mr *John Weſley*. What, in ſuch a Caſe, would have been the natural Inference? Not, that *no-body* held theſe *undisputed* Principles: but, that they *would* and *muſt* have been controverted, *long before*, had they not been *held* UNIVERSALLY. Why is the Exiſtence of a certain Luminary, called the Sun, *undisputed*? Surely, not becauſe its Exiſtence is *diſbelieved*; but, on the contrary, becauſe it is univerſally *known* and *acknowledged*.—I muſt, therefore, *repeat* my Queſtion, which ſeems to have given Mr *Sellon* and his Fraternity ſo much Diſquiet: WHERE WAS NOT THE DOCTRINE OF PREDESTINATION, BEFORE *Pelagius*?

The Arminians treat ELECTION, as *Gardiner*, the Poſiſh Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, treated the Doctrines of FREE JUSTIFICATION. Before the Homily on *Salvation* was publiſhed, Archbiſhop *Cranmer* and others ſent for *Gardiner*, and ſhewed him that excellent Homily, “wherein
“ was handled the Matter of Juſtification; endeavoring
“ to perſuade him to allow of it, by reaſoning with him
“ concerning it. But *Wincheſter* pretended, whatſoever
“ they ſaid could not ſalve his Conſcience: and challenged
“ them to ſhew *any* OLD *Writer* who taught as that Homily did (c).”

If the Teſtimony of *Old Writers* was needful, to confirm the good old Doctrines; there are old Writers enough at hand, to confirm all and every one of them. But it ſuffices for *me*, that we have the Suffrages of the *oldeſt* Writers: I mean, the Prophets and Apoſtles. The Holy SCRIPTURES are the *trueſt* and the *pureſt* Antiquity (d).

I

While

(c) STRYPE'S Eccles. Mem. Vol. 3. p. 278.

(d) *Calvin* touches this Point, with great Judgment and Elegance, in one of the moſt admirable Compoſitions which any Age
has

While *these* are for us, it matters not who are against us. However, the Calvinists of latter Ages are very far from standing alone, in their resolute Adherence to the Scripture Doctrines. The learned Bishop Beveridge, whose Acquaintance with the Monuments of Primitive Antiquity is incontestible, treating (for Instance) of *Regeneration* by the *Efficacious* Grace of God, expresses himself thus; and avers, that the first Churches believed as follows: Our Lord “Doth not say, there are *some* Things you cannot
 “do without *Me*, or, there there are *many* Things you
 “cannot do without me; but, *without ME ye CAN do*
 “NOTHING: nothing good, nothing pleasing and accep-
 “table

has seen: I mean, his *Dedication* of his *Institution* to Francis I. of France. In that highly-finished Apology for the Protestant Religion, the Apostolical Reformer thus speaks: “*Improbis clamoribus nos obruunt, ceu Patrum Contemptores et Adversarios. Nos verò adeò illos non contemnimus, ut, si id præsentis Instituti esset, nullo Negotio mihi liceat meliorem eorum Partem eorum, quæ hodiè à nobis dicuntur, ipsorum suffragiis comprobare. Sic tamen in eorum Scriptis versamur, ut semper meminerimus, omnia nostra esse, quæ nobis servant, non dominentur. Nos AUTEM UNIUS CHRISTI, cui, per omnia, sine Exceptione, parendum sit. Hunc delectum qui non tenet, nihil in Religione constitutum habebit: quando multa ignorant sancti illi Viri: sæpè inter se conficiantur; interdum etiam secum ipsi pugnant.*”

I am by no means singular in my Admiration of the Piece now cited. Mr Bayle acknowledges, that the above Dedictory Epistle “Is one of those *three or four* Prefatory Pieces. so much admired. *Thuanus's* Epistle Dedictory, and *Casaubon's* Preface to *Polybius*, are of that Number. We must join to these, the Preface of Mr *Pelisson*, on the Works of *Sarrafin*.” Had Mr Bayle seen *Witsius's* Dedication of his *Oeconomia Fœderum*, to King *William*; and could he have lived to see Dr *Samuel Johnson's* Preface to his Edition of *Shakespeare*; a Critic of his Taste and Discernment must certainly have added *those* masterly Performances to the admired Number.

“ table unto God. Whereas, if we could either *prepare*
 “ ourselves to turn; or *turn* ourselves when prepared, we
 “ should do much. And, to put it out of Doubt, the
 “ same Spirit tells us elsewhere, *it is God that WORKETH*
 “ in you both to *WILL and to DO*, of his good pleasure.
 “ It is he who first enables us to *will* what we ought to
 “ do, and then to *do* what we will. Both the *Grace* we
 “ desire, and our *Desire* of Grace, procede from HIM. —
 “ And therefore it is requisite, in order to our *Conver-*
 “ *sion*, that the Understanding be not only so enlightened
 “ as to *discern* the Evil from the Good; but that our
 “ *Wills* be also so *rectified*, as to *prefer* the Good before the
 “ Evil. By this rectifying, or *bringing of the WILL into*
 “ *its right Order* again, its *Liberty* is not destroyed, but
 “ *healed*: so that it is *free*, after, as well as before Con-
 “ version; *FREE to God and Holiness*, as it was before *free*
 “ *ONLY to Sin and Wickedness*. AND THIS WAS THE
 “ DOCTRINE OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH. St *Au-*
 “ *gustin*, in whose Days *Pelagius* FIRST rose up against
 “ this Truth, hath written several Volumes to this Pur-
 “ pose (e) ”

St *Jerom*, who was cotemporary with St *Augustin*, ad-
 dressed him, not as the *Founder*, but as a principal *Restorer*,
 of the Doctrines of Grace: “*Thou art famous*,” said *Jerom*
 to *Austin*, “*through the World. The Orthodox revere thee,*
 “ *as the RE-BUILDER of the ANTIENT Faith (f).*” And
 I am much mistaken, if St *Jerom*, who lived more than
 thirteen hundred Years ago, was not better qualified to
 judge and pronounce concerning the Faith of the *Antients*,
 than all the Followers of *Van-Harmin* taken together.

There are Cases, wherein a Man’s own Testimony,
 even in his own Cause, is not only admissible, but weigh-
 ty and respectable. Of this Kind I consider the following

I 2

Declaration

(e) Bishop BEVERIDGE’s *Exposition of the 39 Articles*, Art. 10.

(f) See a Book, entitled, *Melius Inquirentium*, p. 51. written
 by Mr *Alfop*, the learned and ingenious Author of *Anti-Sozzo*.

Declaration of St *Austin*. “ We have shewed (says he, directing his Speech to the *Pelagians*,) by invincible Authorities, that the holy Bishops, who lived before us, taught the SAME Faith which we maintain ; and overthrew the Arguments which you make use of, not only in their Discourses, but in their Writings also. We have shewed you their Opinions, which are very particular and clear.—I hope their Testimonys will cure your Blindness, as I wish it : but, if you continue obstinate in your Error, which God forbid, you are no more to look for a Tribunal to justify you, but for those wonderful Defenders of the Truth to accuse you ; St *Irenæus*, St *Cyprian*, *Rheticus*, *Olympius*, St *Hilary*, St *Gregory*, St *Ambrose*, St *Basil*, St *John Chrysostom*, &c ; with all those who communicated with them, that is to say, the whole Church (g).”

I once devoted a considerable Share of Time and Attention to the Fathers. But, I scruple not to acknowledge, that, after a while, I desisted from this Study, as barren and unimproving. Some excellent Things are, indeed, interspersed in their Writings : but the Golden Grains are almost lost amidst an Infinity of Rubbish. “ If a man,” says Dr *Young*, “ was to find one Pearl in an Oyster of a Million, it would hardly encourage him to commence Fisherman for Life.” So say I, of the Fathers in general. Even supposing (what I can by no Means grant,) that the Harvest of Instruction would recompence the Toil of breaking up the Ground ; a Life-time would hardly suffice to read the Fathers with Care : and, perhaps, two Life-times would scarcely enable a Reader to digest them completely. That Knowledge which is truly important, lies in a much narrower Compass. I am quite of his Mind, who said, *Unus AUGUSTINUS, præ mille Patribus ; & unus PAULUS præ mille AUGUSTINUS*. One Page of St *Austin* is worth a Thousand of most other Fathers : but one Page of St *Paul* is worth a Thousand of St *Austin*’s. I speak
not

That he held the *absolute Freeness* of Divine GRACE, appears from this remarkable Assertion: “*When Christ,*” says he, “*chose his own Apostles who were to preach his Gospel, He chose them when they were wickedder than all Wickedness itself; to demonstrate, that He came not to call the Righteous, but Sinners to Repentance (i).*”—That he was far from being startled at the Doctrine of *Reprobation*, seems more than probable: else, I should imagine, he would scarcely have represented the Incarnation and Death of Christ to have been *designed* for filling up the Measure of Jewish Iniquity. His words are these: “*THEREFORE did the Son of God come in the Flesh, TO THIS VERY END, That He might finish and bring to Perfection the Sins of those who had persecuted his Prophets unto Death. For THIS Reason*” [i. e. this was *one Reason* for which] “*He suffered (k).*” If a *modern Calvinist* was to express himself in this Manner, what an hideous Outcry would be raised, as if Heaven and Earth were falling!

Far from representing the Death of Christ as a *Contingency*, or as an Event which *might*, or *might not*, have taken Place; Barnabas avers that it came to pass *necessarily*: “*It was Christ’s*

(i) Ὅτι δὲ τὸς ἰδίους ἀποστόλους, τὸς μέλλοντας κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτοῦ, ἐξελεξάτο, οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπὲρ πάσαν ἀμαρτίαν ἀνομολογῶν· ἵνα δείξῃ, ὅτι οὐκ ἦλθε καλεῖσαι δικαίους, ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλοὺς εἰς μετανοίαν. Epist. Barnab. Sect. V.—I follow the Edition of Cotelierius.

(k) Οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τέλος ἦλθεν ἐν σαρκί, ἵνα τὸ τέλος τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν κεφαλαιώσῃ τοῖς διώξασιν ἐν θανάτῳ τὸς πρῶτους αὐτοῦ. Οὐκ ἔστιν εἰς τέλος ὑπερμεινέ. Ibid.

Father Menard, a learned *French* Papist, who, in his Commentary on this Epistle, is studious of pelagianizing as many Parts of it as he can; has yet a very striking, because a very honest, Note on this Passage: “*Profert aliam Causam adventus Christi; ut colligeretur & subduceretur veluti summa Peccatorum Judæorum: hoc est, UT CONSUMMARENTUR PECCATA EORUM, additâ Christi Morte, eorumque Impœnitentiâ ad necem, &c.*”

“ Christ’s own WILL that he should thus suffer. It was
 “ REQUISITE that he should suffer on the Tree. For the Pro-
 “ phet saith concerning him, Deliver my Soul, &c (l).”

Speaking of *Regeneration and Conversion*, he ascribes the Power, by which those supernatural effects are accomplished, entirely to God: “ *When God hath renewed us by the Re-*
 “ *mission of Sins, he hath formed us into a quite different Like-*
 “ *ness; so that we have a Child-like Mind: forasmuch as*
 “ *he himself fashions us anew (m).*” Again: “ *Behold, we*
 “ *have been formed afresh: as he speaketh by another Pro-*
 “ *phet; Lo, saith the Lord, I will take away from them,*
 “ *that is, from those whom the Spirit of the Lord fore-viewed,*
 “ *I will take away from them [their] stony Hearts, and*
 “ *I will send fleshy Hearts into them (n).*”

In the following Paragraph, *Barnabas* seems to glance at the *Specialty of Redemption*: “ *The Lord saith again*” [i.e. Christ, the second Person in the Trinity,] “ *In whom*
 “ *shall I appear before the Lord my God, and be glorified?*
 “ *He answereth: I will praise thee in the CHURCH, in the*
 “ *midst of my BRETHREN; and sing to thee in the midst of*
 “ *THE CHURCH OF THE SAINTS (o).*”—If this venerable Writer only glances at particular Redemption, in the

I 4

last

(l) Αὐτῷ κηρύχτην ἕως παθεῖν. εἶδει γὰρ ἵνα ἐπὶ ξύλῳ παθῇ λέγει γὰρ ὁ προφῆτευσων ἐπ’ αὐτῷ, φεῖται μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπο ρομφαίας. Ibid.

(m) Ἐπεὶ ἔν ἀνακαινίσας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀφεσὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς ἄλλον τυπὸν, ὡς παῖδιον εἶχεν τὴν ψυχὴν, ὡς ἂν καὶ ἀναπλασσομένη αὐτῷ ἡμᾶς. Ibid. Sect. VI.

(n) Ἰδὲ ἔν ἡμῖς ἀναπεπλασμεῖθα. καθὼς πάλιν ἐν ἑτέρῳ προφῆτῃ λέγει· Ἰδὲ, λέγει Κυριῷ, Ἐξέλῳ τῶν τε—τέσιν, ὧν προέβλεπε τὸ Πνεῦμα Κυριῷ· τὰς λίθινὰς καρδίας, καὶ βαλὼ σαρκίνας αὐτοῖς. Ibid.

(o) Λεῖπει γὰρ πάλιν Κυριῷ, καὶ ἐν τινὶ οφθῆσομαι τῷ Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ μὲ, καὶ δοξαζήσομαι; λέγει, Ἐξομολογήσομαι σοὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐν μεσῷ ἀδελφῶν μὲ, καὶ ψάλλω ἀναμῆσον ἐκκλησίας ἁγίων. Ibid.

last Passage; he *more* than glances at it, in this which follows: “*Understand, therefore, O ye Children of [spiritual]*” “*Gladness, that the Lord hath made all [these] things manifest to us beforehand, that we might know to whom we should*” “*gratefully render Thanks in all Things. Since therefore*” “*the Son of God, though he is Jehovah, and will judge the*” “*Living and the Dead, suffered, that his Punishment might*” “*make us alive; let us rest assured, that the Son of God COULD*” “*NOT have suffered BUT FOR US (p).*” The Sense evidently is, That the essential Dignity of Christ, as Κυριος, or *Sovereign Lord*, will not permit us to believe that it was possible for him to suffer and shed his Blood in vain, or for those who are not, eventually, “*made alive by HIS (q)*” “*Punishment*” in their Room and Stead. To the same Effect he thus speaks, in the Person of Christ: “*Wherefore?*” [i. e. Wherefore was the Sin-offering, under the Law, to be eaten by the Priests alone?] “*Because I am to offer up*” “*my Flesh as a Sacrifice for the Sins of the NEW People (r):*” i. e. for the Sins of those who shall be made *new* Creatures in Christ by the Spirit and Grace of God: who can say, with *Barnabas*, in the Words already quoted, “*He himself*” “*fashions us anew: behold, we have been formed afresh.*” And these, surely, are far enough from including the *whole* of Mankind. It is plain, *Menardus* understood this Passage (as every unprejudiced Reader must) of Christ’s offering

(p) Ουκην νοειτε, τεκνα ευφροσυνης, οτι παντα ο καλὸς Κυριος προεφανερωσιν ἡμιν, ινα γνωμεν, ὡ κατὰ παντα ευχαριστητες οφειλομεν αινειν. ει εν ο υιὸς τε Θεου, ὡν Κυριος, καὶ μελλων ηξειν ζωτας καὶ νεκρους, επαθεν, ινα ἡ πληγὴ αὐτοῦ ζωοποιήσῃ ἡμας. πισευσωμεν, οτι ο υιὸς τε Θεου καὶ ἡδυνατο παθειν, ει μη δια ἡμας. Ibid. Sect. VII.

(q) I have ventured to render πληγὴ by the general Word *Punishment*: though it strictly signifies a *Blow*, a *Stripe*, a *Wound*.

(r) Φα[ε]τωσαν οἱ ἱερεῖς μονοι παντες το ε[ν]τορον απλυτον, μετα οξυς. π[ε]ρς τι; επειδη εμε, ειδον, ὡπερ ἀμαρτιων μελλοντα τε λαβ τε καινῃ προσφ[ε]ρειν την σαρχα μ[ε]ν. Ibid.

offering up himself only “ for the Sins of the *new*, or “ *renewed People*,” as militating very strongly against Universal Redemption; else, in his pert note on the Place, he would not, like many other Annotators, have flown directly in the Face of the Text, and presumed to charge *Barnabas* with being in an Error: “ Λαβ τε και νη, id est, *Po-puli novi*. Non ità rectè: quia Christus pro universo “ *Mundo passus est*.” *Barnabas*, however, thought otherwise. And so would his angry Commentator, had he duly weighed the Notion, of indiscriminate Redemption, in the Balance of the Sanctuary.

Barnabas's Judgment, respecting the Certainty of *Perseverance*, may be concluded from his connecting Evangelical *Hope* with Final *Salvation*. Though *Hope* is, perhaps, one of the lowest on the Round of Christian Graces; yet, a Christian Grace it is: and the *Hope*, which has the Finished Redemption of Jesus for its Object, shall be crowned with Everlasting Glory, by Him who will never break a bruised Reed, nor quench the smoking Flax: “ *They, who HOPE in Him, shall live FOREVER (s).*” Much less shall the stronger Graces fail: “ *Whosoever eat-eth of these Things, shall live EVERLASTINGLY. He*” [i. e. GOD] “ *saith, whosoever shall hear those that call, and “ BELIEVETH, shall live ETERNALLY (t).*”

According to this truly Apostolic Writer, *Free-will* has nothing to do in the Affairs of spiritual and future Salvation. Speaking of God's true *Israel*, he asks, “ *But, from whence is it, that they come to consider and understand these Things? We, who consider His Commandments aright, “ speak as the Lord willeth us to speak. For that End, He “ hath circumcised our Ears and our Hearts, that we might “ understand*

(s) Ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ξύλῳ. διότι, οἱ ἐλπίζοντες εἰς αὐτὸν ζήσονται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Ibid. Sect VIII.

(t) Καὶ ὅς ἂν εἰς φάσῃ ἀπο τῶν, ζήσει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. τῷ λέγει, ὅς ἂν, φησὶν, ἀκὴρ τῶν καλυμμένων, καὶ πίστευσῃ, ζήσει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Ibid. Sect. XI.

“ *understand these Things (u).*” Again : “ *He, GIVING us*
 “ *Repentance, hath led us into the incorruptible Temple. The*
 “ *Person, therefore, who is desirous of Salvation, LOOKETH*
 “ *NOT UNTO MAN, but to HIM that dwelleth in Man and*
 “ *speaketh by Man (x).*”

I shall close my Citations, from *Barnabas*, with but one Testimony more : “ *Issue not thy Commands to thy Maid-*
 “ *Servant, or to thy Man-Servant, in an acrimonious Man-*
 “ *ner, lest thou fear not that God who is Master both of you*
 “ *and them : for He came not to call Men, επι προσωπων,*
 “ *according to their outward Condition in Life, but [His Call*
 “ *is] unto THOSE WHOM THE SPIRIT HATH PRE-*
 “ *PARED (y),*” be their outward Condition what it may.

II. CLEMENS (z) ROMANUS is said to have been a Disciple of the Apostle *Peter* : and is universally allowed to be that *Clement*, whom St *Paul* numbered among his *Fellow-laborers*, and whose Name he peremptorily affirmed to be in the *Book of Life*, Phil. iv. 3. He was made Bishop of *Rome*, probably, about A. D. 64, or 65. But it is very uncertain, at what Time, and in what Manner, he was honored with Martyrdom.

His First Epistle to the *Corinthians* is celebrated, by many of the antient Writers, as one of the finest and most valuable

(u) Αλλα ποθεν εκεινος ταυτα νοησαι, η συνιεναι ; ημεις εν δικαιοις νοησαντες τας εντολας, λαλουμεν ως ηβελησε Κυρι®. δια τωτο, πω-
 τεμε τας ακοας ημων, κη τας καρδιας, ινα συνημεν ταυτα. Ibid. S. X.

(x) Μετανοιαν διδως ημιν, εισηγαγε εις τον αφθαερτον ναον. ‘Ο κη ποθων σωθηναι, βλεπει εκ εις τον ανθρωπον, αλλ’ εις τον εν αυτω ενοικηντα, κη λαληντα επ’ αυτω. Ibid. S. XVI.

(y) Ου μη επιταξης παιδισκη, η δαλω σα, εν πικρια, τοις επι τον αυτον επιζησιν· μηποτε ε φοβηθησιν τον επ’ αμφοτεροις Θεον. οτι ηλθεν, εκ επι προσωπον καλεσαι, αλλ’ εφ’ υς το Πνευμα ητοιμασε. Ibid. S. XIX.

(z) Vide CAVE’s *Hist. Liter.* Vol. I. 17. Also, his *Apostolici*, p. 78. And DUPIN’s *Eccles. Writers*, Vol. 1. p. 27.

valuable Productions of the Apostolic Age. So highly was it esteemed, that, for several Centuries, it made a Part of the Public Service of the Primitive Church : being read in their Assemblies, and revered as inferior only to the Books of the New Testament. Nor does a learned Modern (*Monsieur Du Pin*) betray the least Want of Judgment, in declaring the Epistle, now under Consideration, to be, “ After the Holy Scriptures, one of “ the most eminent Records of Antiquity.” It seems to have been written before the Destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans* : consequently, much within forty Years after our Lord’s Ascension ; and about six or seven Years after the Death of the Apostle *Paul*, with whom, and with several others of the Apostles, *Clement* was personally and intimately acquainted.

The Testimonies of *such* a Writer, in Favor of the Great Truths called Calvinistic, deserve the Reader’s Attention. Among which Testimonies, are the following.

The Epistle opens thus : “ *The Church of God, which dwelleth at Rome, to the Church of God dwelling at Corinth, CALLED and SET APART by the WILL of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord (b).*” Hinting at some violent Tumults and Dissentions, which had lately agitated and divided the *Corinthian Church* ; he terms such Proceedings “ *A criminal and unholy Sedition, strange and un- seemly in the ELECT of God (c).*” Reminding them of the exemplary Care, with which they had formerly attended to the Performance of every good Work ; he observes, “ *Your Contest, Day and Night, was for the whole Brotherhood ; that THE NUMBER OF HIS ELECT* *might*

(b) — Τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῆ Θεοῦ παρρηκισθῆ Κορινθίων, κλητοῖς, ἡγιασμένοις ἐν θεληματί Θεοῦ, δια τῆ κυρίου, κ.τ.λ. *Clem. Ep. I. ad Cor. Sect. 1.*

(c) Τῆς τε ἀλλοτρίας καὶ ξένης τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς τῆ Θεοῦ, μιᾶς καὶ ἀνοσιβήσεως. *Ibid.*

“ might be saved with Mercy and with [a good] Con-
 “ science (e).” Nor did Clement consider the Salvation of
 the Elect as precarious, or their Perseverance as uncer-
 tain. “ *It being the Will of God,*” says he, “ that ALL
 “ HIS BELOVED ONES should be made Partakers of Re-
 “ pentance ; He hath ESTABLISHED them FIRMLY by His
 “ own Almighty Purpose (f).”

His Judgment, concerning the *Extent of Redemption*,
 may be inferred from the Two following Passages. In
 the First, treating of *Rahab's Deliverance* by the Line of
 Scarlet depending from her Window, he considers that
 Event as typical of Salvation by Christ's Atonement :
 Hereby, says he, “ *They*” [i. e. *Rahab*, and as many of
 her Friends as were collected under her Roof for Preser-
 vation] “ made it manifest, that REDEMPTION by the Blood
 “ of the Lord should accrue to ALL WHO BELIEVE and
 “ HOPE in God (g).” Again : The Messiah's “ *Life is*
 “ taken from the Earth ; because of the Iniquities of MY
 “ PEOPLE, He went unto Death (h).”

That this primitive Bishop had the most exalted Ideas
 of the *Immutability*, the *Certainty*, and the *Omnipotence*, of
 God's DECREES ; is evident beyond all Contradiction.
 Witness his Description of the all-controlling Power,
 with which God's Providential Disposals are attended :
 “ *In Pursuance of HIS WILL, the seeming Earth produces,*
 “ *at the proper Seasons, abundant Provision both for Men, and*
 “ *for*

(e) Αἴων ἡν ὑμῖν, ἡμεῶς τε καὶ νυκλῶ, ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς ἀδελφο-
 τητῶ, εἰς τὸ σωζέσθαι μετ' ἐλεος καὶ συνειδήσεως τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐκ-
 λεκλῶν αὐτῶ. Ibid. S. III.

(f) Πάντας ἃν τὴν ἀσάπην αὐτὴ βελομένη μελανοῖας μελαγχίν,
 ἐξηριξέ τῷ παντοκράτορικῷ βελημαλί αὐτῶ. Ibid. S. VIII.

(g) Προδηλον ποιεῖντες, ὅτι, διὰ τὴν αἱμαλῶ τῇ Κυρίῃ, λυτρώσις
 εἶναι πασι τοῖς πιστευούσι καὶ ἐλπίζουσιν εἰπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ibid. S. XII.

(h) Αἵρεται ἀπο τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτῶ. ἀπο τῶν ἀνομιῶν τῶ
 λαοῦ μὴ ἡκεῖ εἰς θάνατον. Ibid. S. XVI.

"for wild Beasts, and for all the Animals that are upon it;
 "without varying from, and without altering, ought of THOSE
 "THINGS WHICH WERE DECREED BY HIM (i)."—
 With a Sublimity both of Sentiment and Style, which
 would do Honor even to *Homer* or *Demosthenes*, he thus
 asserts the Independency, Sovereignty, and Invincibility,
 of the Divine Appointments: "By the Word of His Ma-
 "jesty He hath constituted all Things; and He is able, by a
 "Word, to overturn them. Who shall say unto HIM, What
 "hast Thou done? Or who shall RESIST the Might of His
 "Power? He hath done all Things, at what Season He
 "pleased, and in what Manner He pleased: and NOT ONE
 "of the Things, which have been DECREED by HIM, shall
 "pass away. All Things are open to his View, nor hath any
 "Thing absconded from His Will and Pleasure (k)."

Far from supposing, that the precious Doctrine of *Election*
 conduces to Immorality; he represents *Election* as the
 main Ground-work of Sanctification, and as the grand
 Inducement to Virtue and Obedience: "Let us draw nigh
 "to God with Holiness of Mind, lifting up chaste and un-
 "polluted Hands, loving our gentle and compassionate Father,
 "WHO HATH MADE US A PART OF THE ELECTION
 "UNTO HIMSELF. For so it is written: When the Most
 "High parcelled out the Nations, and when He dispersed
 "the Sons of Adam, He appointed the Boundaries of the
 "Nations

(i) Γη κυφορεσα, κατα το θελημα αυτε, τοις ιδιοις καιροις την
 παμπληθη ανθρωποις, τε κ' θηρσι, κ' πασι τοις υσιν εν αυτη ζωοις,
 ανατελλει τροφην. μη διχοσταεσα μηδε αλλοιουσα τι των δεδογμα-
 τισμενων υ'ω' αυτε. Ibid. S. XX.

(k) Εν λογω της μεγαλοσυνης αυτε συνεψησατο τα παντα, κ' εν
 λογω δυναται αυτα καταστρεψαι. τις ερει αυτω, Τι εποιησας; η τις
 αντισησειται τω κρατει της ισχυ' αυτε; 'ΟΤΕ θελει, κ' ΩΣ θελει,
 εποιησεν παντα· κ' υδεν μη παρελθη των δεδογματισμενων υ'ω' αυτε·
 παντα ενωπιον αυτε εστι, κ' υδεν αλληθεν την βουλην αυτε. Ibid.
 S. XXVII.

“ Nations according to the Number of His Angels. His
 “ People JACOB were the Lord’s Portion ; ISRAEL was
 “ the Line of His Inheritance. *And, in another Place, He*
 “ *saith* ; Behold, the Lord taketh to Himself a Nation
 “ from the midst of the Nations, as a Man taketh the
 “ First-fruits from his Corn-floor (*k*).” Under the ra-
 vishing View of Interest in this unspeakable Blessing of
 Election, well may the excellent Father add, as he does,
 presently after ; “ *Since, therefore, We are the Portion of*
 “ *the Holy One, let us practise all the Works of Holiness :*
 “ *avoiding Slanders, and defiled and unchaste Embraces,*
 “ *Drunkenness and Innovations, together with abominable De-*
 “ *sires, detestable Adultery, and loathsome Pride (l).*” How
 far, how infinitely far, is the believing Consideration of
 God’s *Electing* Love from leading to Licentiousness !

Nothing can be more scriptural, than this Writer’s Doc-
 trine concerning the *Sovereignty* and *Freeness* of divine
 GRACE. “ *Let us,*” says he, “ *closely and stedfastly adhere*
 “ *to those Persons, unto whom Grace is GIVEN of God (m).*”

To

(*k*) Προσελθωμεν εν αυτω εν οσοτητι ψυχης, αιστας η αιμιανες
 χειρας αιθεντες προς αυτον, αγαπωντες τον επιεικη η ευσπλαγχνον πα-
 τερα ημων, ος εκλογης μερος εποιοησεν εαυτω. Ουτω γαρ γεγραπται.
 Οτε διεμερισεν ο υψιστος εθνη, ως δε εσπειρεν υιους Αδαμ. εστηεν υρια
 εθνων κατ’ αριθμον αγγελων. εβηθη μερις Κυριου λαου αυτου Ιακωβ,
 χοινοισμα κληρονομιας αυτου Ισραηλ. Και εν ετερω τοπω λεγει. Ιδου
 Κυριος λαμβανει εαυτω εθνος εκ μεσθ εθνων. ωςπερ λαμβανει ανθρωπον
 την απαρχην αυτου της αλω. Ibid. S. XXIX.

(*l*) Άγιος εν μερις υπαρχοντες, ποιησωμεν τα τε αγιασμα παντα.
 φευγοντες καταλαλιας, μαρσας τε η αισθες συμπλοκας, μεβας τε η νεω-
 τερισμους, η βδελυκτας επιθυμιας, μυσαραν μαχειαν, βδελυκτην υπερ-
 ηφανιαν. Ibid. S. XXX.

(*m*) Κολληθωμεν εν εκεινοις, ος η χαρις απο του Θεου δεδοται. Ibid.
 —So, in Sect. XLVI. Κολληθωμεν εν τοις αθωοις η δικαιοις. εισιν
 δε ετσι, εκλεκτοι του Θεου. i. e. “ *Let us be intimately associated with*
the

To this *Grace*, thus freely given, he ascribes the Exercise of the social Virtues: “*Equity, and Lowliness of Mind, and Meekness, are found in those who are THE BLESSED of God (n).*” Speaking of the Old-Testament Saints, he refers the whole of their good *Will*, good *Works*, *Justification*, and *eternal Felicity*, to the discriminating Favor and Sovereign Pleasure of God alone: “*All these Persons were glorified and magnified, NOT BY THEMSELVES, or by THEIR OWN WORKS, or by the righteous Practice which they wrought; BUT BY HIS WILL. We too, being called by HIS WILL in Christ Jesus, are JUSTIFIED, NOT BY OURSELVES, nor by OUR OWN Wisdom, or Understanding, or Piety, or by the WORKS which we have performed in Holiness of Heart: but by Faith, whereby Almighty God hath, from Eternity, justified all those (a),*” i. e. all those whom it was his *Will* to justify.

Clement easily foresaw, that the Doctrine of Free Grace and unmerited Justification, as stated by him in the above Passage; might be caviled at, by Legalists and Merit-mongers, as tending to the consequential Exclusion of good Works. He, therefore, discretely anticipates this Cavil, by entering a just Caveat against an Inference so unnatural and malicious. “*What then shall we do, Brethren?*”
says

“*the Blameless and the Righteous: for THESE are the ELECT of God.*” As much as to say: *Innocency and Righteousness of Life are the Marks by which God’s ELECT are wisely and practically known and distinguished.*

(n) Επιεικεια, κὲ ταπεινοφροσυνη, κὲ πραΰτης, παρὰ τοῖς εὐλογημένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ibid. Sect. XXX.

(o) Πάντες ἐν ἐδοξασθησαν κὲ ἐμεγαλυνθησαν, ὃ δὲ αὐτῶν, ἡ τῶν ἐργῶν αὐτῶν, ἡ τῆς δικαιοπραγίας ἥς κατεργάσαντο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν θελήματι αὐτῶν. Καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν διὰ θελήματι αὐτῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ κληθεῖσιν, ὃ δὲ αὐτῶν δικαιομεθα, ὃ δὲ διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας σοφίας, ἡ συνεισέως, ἡ εὐσεβείας, ἡ ἐργῶν ἃν κατεργάσαμεθα ἐν ὁσιότητι καρδίας. ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς πίστεως, δι’ ἧς πάντας τὰς ἀπ’ αἰῶνος ὁ παντοκράτωρ Θεὸς ἐδικαιώσιν. Ibid. Sect. XXXII.

says he, in the very next Paragraph: “*Shall we desist from*” —*well-doing, and renounce our Love*” [to God and our Neighbor?] “*May the Sovereign Lord never permit this*” —*to befall us by any Means! Nay, but let us be in Haste*” —*to accomplish every good Work, with Earnestness, and with*” —*full Propensity (p).’’*

He most carefully guards against the sacrilegious Encroachments of *Free-will* and *Self-Righteousness*: “*It is by*” —*Jesus Christ, that we can stedfastly look into the Heights*” —*of Heaven. It is by HIM, that we shall behold his spotless*” —*and most exalted Countenance. By HIM the Eyes of our*” —*Heart have been opened. By HIM our foolish and dark*” —*Understanding springs up afresh into his marvellous Light.*” —*It was the Will of the Lord, that we should, by HIM, taste*” —*of that Knowledge which can never die (q).’—“ He that*” —*made and formed us, hath introduced us into his World:*” —*having AFORE PREPARED his Benefits for us, even BE-*” —*FORE WE WERE BORN. As, therefore, we have ALL*” —*THINGS from HIM, we ought, for ALL Things, to give*” —*HIM thanks (r).’*”

Disfluading

(p) Τι ἐν ποιησωμεν, ἀδελφοί; ἀγῆσωμεν ἀπο τῆς ἀλαστοπορίας, καὶ ἐγκαταλείπωμεν τὴν ἀγάπην; μὴ δαμῶς τὸ τοῦτο εἶσαι ὁ Θεσπολὶς ἐφ’ ἡμῖν γεγεννηθῆναι. ἀλλὰ σπεύσωμεν, μετὰ ἐκτενείας καὶ προθυμίας, πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐπιτελεῖν. Ibid. Sect. XXXIII.

(q) Διὰ τὰτα ἀτενίσωμεν εἰς τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῶν οὐρανῶν. διὰ τὰτα ἐνοπ-
τησώμεθα τὴν ἀμωμον καὶ ὑπερτάτην οὐσίαν αὐτῆς. διὰ τὰτα κινωχθη-
σαν ἡμῶν οἱ οὐθαλμοὶ τῆς καρδίας. διὰ τὰτα ἡ ἀσυνήθεια καὶ ἐσκοτισ-
μένη διάνοια ἡμῶν ἀναθαλλεῖ εἰς τὸ θαυμαστον αὐτῆς φῶς. διὰ τὰτου
κθελήσεν ὁ Θεσπολὶς τῆς ἀθανάτου γνώσεως ἡμᾶς γευσάδειν. Ibid.
Sect. XXXVI.

(r) Ὁ ποιήσας ἡμᾶς καὶ δημιουργήσας, εἰσηγάγεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον αὐ-
τῆς. προέλοιμασας τὰς ἐνεργείας αὐτῆς, πρὶν ἡμᾶς γεννηθῆναι. τὰ ἐν
παντὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔχοντες, οφειλομένη κατὰ πάντα εὐχαριστεῖν αὐτῇ.
Ibid. Sect. XXXVIII.

Disfluading the *Corinthians* from casting Blocks of Offence in each others Way, he thus enforces his Prohibition : “ Remember the Words of our Lord Jesus : for he hath said, “ Wo to that Man ; it were good for him rather not to have “ been born, than that he should cause one of my ELECT “ People to stumble (s).” Though the *Elect* themselves may *stumble*, i. e. though it is possible for them both to offend, and to be offended ; yet, according to *Clement’s* Theology, none of them can finally miss of Glory. They shall all, eventually, be completely sanctified, and made meet for the Inheritance of the Saints in Light. “ ALL the ELECT “ of God are made perfect in Love (t).” He adds : It was of “ Love, that the Lord accepted us. It was through the Love “ which HE bore to us, that our Lord Christ did, by the Will “ of God, give his Blood for us, and his Flesh in the room of “ our Flesh, and his Soul in the Room of ours.” This eminent Saint believed, and expressly asserts, that Pardon of Sin does not extend beyond the Pale of Election. His Words are these : “ It is written, Blessed are They, whose Ini- “ quities are remitted, and whose Sins are covered : Blessed “ is the Person, to whom the Lord will by no Means im- “ pute Sin ; nor is there Deceit in his Mouth. This Bless- “ edness accrues to THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN ELECTED “ OF GOD through our Lord Jesus Christ (u).” The Royal

K.

Psalmist

(i) Μνησθητε των λογων Ιησου τε κηρυξ ημων. ειπε γαρ. Ουαι τω ανθρωπω εκεινω. καλον ην αυτω ει εκ εβουληθη, η ενα των εκλεκτων με σκανδαλισαι. Ibid. S. XLVI.

(t) Εν αγαπη ετελειωθησαν παντες οι εκλεκτοι τε Θεου. --- εν αγαπη προσηλαθετο ημας ο Δεσποτης. δια την αγαπην, ην εχεν προς ημας, το αιμα αυτου εδωκεν υπερ ημων ο Χειρς. ο κυρις ημων, εν δεληματι Θεου, κη την σαρκα υπερ της σαρκος ημων, κη την ψυχην υπερ των ψυχων ημων. Ibid. S. XLIX.

(u) Γεγορηται γαρ. Μακαρις ως αφηθησαν αι ανομιαι, κη ως επικαλυφθησαν αι αμαρτιαι· μακαρις ανηρ, ως μη λογισηται κηρις αμαρτιαν, εδε εστιν εν τω σωματι αυτου δολος. Ουτος ο μακαρισμος εγενετο εως της εκκλησιας υπο τε Θεου δια Ιησου Χριστου κυριου ημων. Ibid. S. L.

Psalmist was, no doubt, one of God's *Elect*: and he is, accordingly, so styled by our Apostolic Author: "ELECT
 " David *saith*, I will confess unto the Lord, &c. (x)." —
 I cannot close my Citations from St *Clement*, more suitably,
 than with that most excellent Prayer, which almost con-
 cludes his Epistle; and which I most earnestly beg of
 God the Holy Spirit to engrave indelibly on the Reader's
 Heart and mine: "*May the All-seeing God, the Sovereign*
" of Spirits and the Lord of all Flesh, who hath ELECTED
" the Lord Jesus Christ, and Us into A PECULIAR PEOPLE
" through him; grant, to each Soul that calls on his holy and
" exalted Name," the Graces of " Faith, Fear, Peace, Pa-
" tience, Long-suffering, Temperance, Purity, and Sound-
" ness of Judgment; through our High-priest and Defender,
" Jesus Christ (y)."

I have made the larger Extracts from *Barnabas* and *Clement*, because their two Epistles appear to be the *oldest* Remains of Uncanonical Antiquity. Indeed, the first Epistle of *Clement* to the Corinthians was evidently composed many Years *prior* to some of the Writings of the New Testament itself. For, if that Epistle (as there is the strongest Reason to believe) was antecedent to the final Conquest of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*, it must have been written considerably earlier than the Gospel of St *John*, his *three Epistles*, and the Book of *Revelation*. A Circumstance, however, which I should not have noticed here, had I not thought it necessary to offer some Apology to my Readers, for having detained them so long with these Quotations, in a Work, which, as I transcribe it from the rough Copy, I am designedly

(x) Φησι γαρ ὁ ἐκλεκτὸς Δαβὶδ. Ἐξομολογησάμην τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ ἄρεσται αὐτῷ. κ.τ.λ. Ibid. S. LII.

(y) Ὁ παντεπιστολὴς Θεὸς, δεσποτὴς τῶν πνευματικῶν, καὶ κυριότητος σαρκῶς, ὁ ἐκλεξαμένῳ τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, καὶ ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτοῦ εἰς λαὸν ὁσίων· ὁ δὴ πᾶσιν ψυχῇ ἐπικληκλήμην τοῦ μεγαλοπρεπὲς καὶ ἁγίου ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, πίστιν, φόβον, εἰρήνην, ὑπομονήν, μακροθυμίαν, ἐγκρασίαν, ἀγνείαν, καὶ σωφροσύνην. διὰ τὴν Ἀρχιερεῶς καὶ ποιῶντων ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ibid. S. LVIII.

signedly rendering as concise as may consist with Justice to the Argument.—The genuine Epistles of *Ignatius* and *Polycarp*, though extremely antient, yet are not of quite so high Antiquity, as the two preceding: for which Reason, I shall present the Reader with the fewer Citations; but those sufficiently *weighty* and *exprefs*, to convince any impartial, attentive Enquirer, that these two venerable Preachers and Martyrs were, in Deed and in Truth, earnest Contenders for the Faith which was once delivered to the Saints.

III. *IGNATIUS* is said to have been ordained Bishop of *Antioch* in *Syria*, A. D. 66 (z), and to have held that See for upwards of 40 Years. He was a Disciple of St *John*, and had the Happiness of being particularly intimate with that Apostle. Under the *third* General Persecution, i.e. about the Year 107, *Ignatius*, having asserted the Divinity of the Christian Religion in the Emperor *Trajan's* own Presence, was sentenced to be thrown to wild Beasts, on an Amphitheatre at *Rome*: which was accordingly executed.

On his Way from *Antioch* to *Rome*, this blessed Prisoner of Christ, loaded with Chains, and led as a Sheep to the Slaughter, wrote those six Epistles (of whose Authenticity there seems no just Reason to doubt,) addressed to the Christians in *Ephesus*, *Magnesia*, *Tralles*, *Rome*, *Philadelphia*, and *Smyrna*. As to the Epistle inscribed to *Polycarp*, though thought genuine by *Vossius*, it is rejected as spurious by Archbishop *Usher*; and considered as *doubtful*, even by Dr *Cave*.

In the Exordium of his Epistle to the *Smyrncæans*, *Ignatius* addresses them as “*Filled with Faith and Love, and*” “*INDEFECTIBLE in every Gift of Grace (a).*” And, indeed, the Gifts of Grace would stand us in little stead, if

K 2

Inde-

(z) See the Article *Ignatius*, in a Work, entitled, *The Great Historical, Geographical, and Poetical Dictionary*, Edit Lond. 1694.

(a) Πεπληρωμενη εν πιστει κ' αγαπη, ανυστερηθη εση παντο χαρισμα. *IGNAT. ad Smyrn.* p. 1.—Edit. *Vossii*, Lond. 1680.—I have rendered the very unusual Word ανυστερηθη, by *indefectible*.

Vossius,

Indefeasibility was not their certain Attendant. So far was this holy Bishop from doubting the final *Perseverance* of those who are *really* endued “with FAITH and LOVE;” that he tells them, in Terms of the fullest Assurance, “*I glorify Jesus Christ our God, who hath made you thus [spiritually] wise. For I have understood, that ye are knit firmly together in IMMOVABLE Faith, even as though ye were both in Flesh and Spirit nailed to the Cross of Jesus Christ our Lord; and that ye are made STEDFAST in Love, through the Blood of Christ (b).*”

He believed the *Redemption*, wrought by Christ, to be co-extensive with the Church of God’s peculiar People: Christ, says he, “*suffered all these Things on OUR account, that WE might be saved (c).*” He would not allow the Grace of true *Repentance* to be in a Man’s own Power: for, speaking of some Persons, whom he styles “Wild Beasts in human Shape,” he adds, “*you ought not only to refuse receiving such, but, if possible, you should even avoid meeting them. You ought only to pray in their behalf, if they may by some Means repent; which, however, is exceedingly difficult: but the POWER of this*” [viz. of making them repent] “*rests with Jesus Christ our true Life (d).*”

Sensible

Vossius, indeed, translates it by *indeficiens, undefectus*. Cotelarius, by “*nullam non Donum affectus.*” But if ἐστεῖν signify, not only, to arrive late or last at the Goal, to be distanced and out stripped; but also, to fail, to miss of one’s Design, eventually to come short of; is not *indefeasible* the most obvious and natural rendering of ἀντεστήτω?

(b) Δοξάζω Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν Θεόν, τὸν ὅτως ὑμᾶς σοφισάντα. ἐνόησα γὰρ ὑμᾶς κατηρτισμένους ἐν ἀκινήτῳ πιστεῖ, ὥσπερ καθήλωμενες ἐν τῇ σταυρῇ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, σαρκεὶ τε καὶ πνεύματι, καὶ ἐδραστεύμενοι ἐν ἀγάπῃ, ἐν τῷ αἵματι Χριστοῦ. Ibid. P. 1, 2.

(c) Ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ἐπαθὲν δι’ ὑμᾶς, ἵνα σωθῶμεν. Ibid. P. 2.

(d) Περιουλασσω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἀνθρωπομορφῶν, ἃς ἔμενον δεῖ ὑμᾶς μὴ παραδεχέσθαι, ἀλλ’, εἰ δύνατον ἐστὶ, μὴδὲ σιναισθῆναι. μόνον προσευχεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἐὰν πῶς μετανοήσωσιν, ὥστε ὑποκόποι. ταῦτα ὅτι ἔχει ἐξουσίαν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, τὸ ἀληθινὸν ἡμῶν ζῆν. Ibid. P. 3.

Sensible of his Inability to undergo the Tortures of Martyrdom, in *his own* Strength; he thus expresses his Reliance on the Strength of Grace: “*The nigher to the Sword, the nigher to God. When surrounded with wild Beasts, I shall be encompassed with God. It is only by the Name of Jesus Christ, that I shall so endure all Things, as to suffer with him: he enduing me with Strength, who was himself perfect Man (e).*”

That he held God’s sovereign and righteous *Præterition* of some, appears from the following expression: “*Whom some men ignorantly deny; or, rather, have BEEN DENIED of HIM (f).*”

Nothing can breathe a more genuine Sense of christian Humility, than his absolute Renunciation of *Merit* in all its Branches: *It is by the WILL of God, that I have been vouchsafed this Honor* [namely, the Honor of being in Chains for the Gospel:] “*not from Conscience*” [i. e. from my own Uprightness, or Conscientiousness,] “*but from THE GRACE of God (g).*” On the same Principle, speaking of one *Burrrhus*, a Deacon, who was to be the Bearer of this Epistle to *Smyrna*, and from whose tender Friendship *Ignatius* had reaped great Consolation, he thus prays in his Behalf; “*May GRACE make him Re-tribution (h).*”

His Epistle to the *Ephesians* opens thus: “*Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to the Church which is at Ephesus in Asia, blessed by the Greatness and Fulness of God the Father; PREDESTINATED EVER, BEFORE*
K 3 “ TIME

(e) Ἀλλ’ ἐγὼς μαχαίρας, ἐγὼς Θεοῦ. μεταξύ θηρίων, μεταξύ Θεοῦ. μόνον ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς τὸ συμπαθεῖν αὐτῷ, πάντα ὑπομένω. αὐτὸς με ἐνδυναμένῳ, τὸ τέλει ἀνθρώπου γενομένῳ. Ibid. P. 4.

(f) Ὅν τινες ἀγνοοῦντες ἀρετῆσαι. μάλλον δὲ κτηνῶν ὥς αὐτὸς. Ibid.

(g) Κατὰ θελημα δὲ κατηξιώθην. ἢ ἐκ συνειδήσεως, ἀλλ’ ἐκ χάριτος Θεοῦ. Ibid. P. 8.

(h) Ἀμειψεται αὐτῷ ἡ χάρις κατὰ πάντα. Ibid. P. 9.

“ TIME, unto the Glory which is PERPETUAL and UN-
 “ CHANGEABLE, united and chosen [i. e. fixed upon to be
 “ the everlasting Residence of the Saints] by the Will of
 “ the Father, and of Jesus Christ our God, through the true
 “ Suffering (i).” That is, through the Humiliation and
 Sufferings of Christ the true Propitiation.

Congratulating the *Ephesians*, on the Harmony, which
 subsisted among themselves ; he takes Occasion to inti-
 mate, that *The CHURCH*, which is Christ’s mystic Body,
 is as firmly united to CHRIST, as *Christ himself is united to the*
Father (k). Is it possible to express the infallible Certainty
 of final Perseverance, in stronger Terms ? And would not
 one almost believe, that *Ignatius* designed the above Passage
 as a Comment on those Words of our Lord, *Because I live,*
YE shall live also ?

How remote he was from crying up the pretended Abi-
 lities of *Freewill*, may sufficiently appear from what follows :
 “ *Carnal Men,*” i. e. Men unrenewed by the Almighty
 SPIRIT of God, “ *are NOT ABLE to perform spiritual*
 “ *Things.*— — *ye do all Things,*” i. e. all spiritual Things,
 “ *by Jesus Christ (l),*” or by Grace and Strength derived
 from HIM.

In the Inscription of his Epistle to the *Philadelphians*, he
 observes, of the Clergy of that Church, that Christ had,
 in

(i) Ἰγνατίου, ὁ καὶ Θεοφοροῦ, τῇ ευλογημένῃ ἐν μεγέθει Θεοῦ Παλιν-
 πληρωματί, τῇ προσωρισμένῃ ποσ αἰωνῶν, διὰ παντὸς, εἰς δόξαν παρὰ-
 μονον, ἀτρεπίον, ἡνομενην καὶ ἐκλελεγμένην ἐν παθεὶ ἀληθείῃ, ἐν διλημα-
 τι τῶ πατρὸς, καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν, τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, κ τ.λ.
 Epist. ad Eph. P. 16.

(k) Ὑμᾶς μακαρίζω τὰς ἡλικιωμένους ὑμῶν, ὡς ἡ ἐκκλησία Ἰησοῦ
 Χριστοῦ, καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῷ Πατρὶ. Ibid. P. 20.

(l) Ὅι σαρκικοὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ πρᾶσσιν ἔδυνανται. - - - -
 ἐν Ἰησοῦ γὰρ Χριστῷ πάντα πρᾶσσειτε. Ibid. P. 22.

“ in pursuance of HIS OWN WILL, firmly ESTABLISHED
 “ them in STEDFASTNESS, by his holy Spirit (m).” A glaring Proof, that, in the Judgement of Ignatius, saving Grace is not that evanid, *loseable* Thing, which Arminianism represents it to be. As the *Acquisition* of it is not owing to the Will of Man ; so neither is it dependent on Man’s Will for *Preservation* and *Continuance*. In the Course of the same Epistle, he has a similar Remark : “ *Although some*
 “ *have been desirous of seducing me after the Flesh, yet that Spi-*
 “ *rit, which is of God, is not seduced (n) ;*” i. e. is not to be seduced.

Making Mention of one *Agathopus*, who attended him from Syria toward Rome, at the manifest Hazard of Life ; he terms him “ an ELECT Person, who bears me Company
 “ from Syria, having renounced the present Life (o).” He styles the Church at Tralles, “ ELECT and esteemed of God (p) :” and, in the same Epistle, gives another very strong Attestation to the Doctrine of Final Perseverance. For, treating of some Heretics, who denied the Literality of Christ’s Sufferings, he thus descants : “ *Avoid those evil Shoots*” [that spring up by a Christian Church, like Suckers by the Side of a Tree,] “ *which bring forth deadly Fruit, whereof, if a*
 “ *man taste, he presently dyes. These are not of the Father’s*
 “ *Planting ; for, if they WERE, the branches of the Cross*
 “ *would appear, and their Fruit would be INCORRUPTIBLE*” [i. e. imperishable and immortal :] “ *through which he doth*
 “ *by his Passion* [i. e. by virtue of his own Sufferings and
 κ 4 Death,]

(m) Ὅς κατὰ τὸ ἰδίον θελημα ἐστηρίξεν ἐν βεβαιώσυνῃ, τῷ Ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ Πνεύματι. Ep. ad *Philad.* P. 39.

(n) Εἰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ σαρκὰ μετίνες ἠθέλησαν πλανησαί, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐ πλαναται, ἀπὸ Θεοῦ οὐ. Ibid. P. 42.

(o) Ἄμχα Ρεῶ Ἀγαθοποδὶ, ἀνδρὶ ἐκλεκτῷ, ὃς ἀπὸ Συρίας μοι ἀκούσθαι ἀπολαξάμεν τῷ βίῳ. Ibid. P. 45.

(p) Ἐκλεκτῇ καὶ ἀξιοθεῷ. Ep. ad *Trall.* P. 46.

Death,] “call You, who are his MEMBERS. For the Head “ cannot be born without the Members : God, who is the same” [i. e. who is always *Himself*, unchangeable, and without Shadow of Turning,] “having passed his Word for their “ Union (q).” Yet, though this apostolic Bishop was thus rooted and grounded in a Belief of the essential Perpetuity of Grace ; he still was of Opinion (and so, I am confident, is every Calvinist under Heaven,) that, without constant and intense watching unto Prayer, the *Exercise* of Grace is liable to a *partial* and *temporary* Failure. “ I am yet in “ Danger,” says the blessed Martyr : i. e. in Danger, if left to my own Strength, of denying Christ with my Mouth, in order to avoid the Torments of Death. But his *Self-Diffidence* (and who can be *too* diffident of Self ?) did not, however, make him lose Sight of God’s Faithfulness to *him*, which, he well knew, could, alone, keep him faithful to *God* : for he immediately adds, in the very next Words, “ NEVERTHELESS, my Father in Jesus Christ is “ FAITHFULL to fulfil your Prayer and mine (r).” And so he found him to be. God *did* hear his Prayer, and make him faithful unto Death.—Reader, may the same happy Co-alition of *Fear* and *Faith* ; may the most absolute *Self-Distrust*, united with an unshaken *Confidence* in the STABILITY of Divine Grace ; be your Portion, and mine, till we enter the Haven of Everlasting Joy : where we shall no longer stand in need of *Faith*, to fill our Sails ; nor of *Fear*, to steady us with its Ballast.

In

(q) Φευγετε εν τας κακας παραφουδας, τας γεννησας καρπον θανατηφορον, ε εαν γευσειται τις παρ’ αυτα αποθνησκει. ετοι γαρ εν τισιν φυτεια Πατρῶ. ει γαρ ησαν, εφαινοντο αν κλαδοι τε στυμν, κη αν ο καρπῶ αυτων αθαρταῶ. δι’ ε εν τῃ παθει αυτε προσκαλειται εμας οντας μελη αυτη. ε δυναται εν κεφαλη χωρις γεννηθηναι αυτου μελων, τε ουκ εινωσιν επαγγελιομενα, ος ειν αυτῶ. Ibid. P. 52.

(r) Ετι γαρ ὑπο κινδυνον ειμι· αλλα πισῶ ὁ Πατηρ εν Ιησῃ Χρῳ εοπλαηστα. μη ειν αιτησιν κη ὑμων. Ibid. P. 54.

In his Epistle to the *Romans*, Ignatius has an Observation, which shews, that he was far enough from holding the Tenet of *Free-will*, in the Arminian Sense of it: “*A CHRISTIAN is not the Workmanship of SUASION, but of GREATNESS (s) :*” i. e. Men become *real* Christians, not by the Power of moral Argument, but by the mighty Operation of Divine Agency. Whoever denies the Ability of *Free-will*, in Spirituals; must, with that, deny the *Meritoriousness* of Human Works. And so did Ignatius. Witness that Passage, where, speaking of the savage Treatment he received from the Soldiers who were guarding him to Rome, he says, “*They behave themselves the worse to me for my Beneficence to them. I reap, however, the more Instruction, from their injurious Behavior. Yet, I am NOT JUSTIFIED by this (t).*” He knew, that neither the *Sufferings*, which he was enabled to endure for Christ; nor his *Kindness* to his Persecutors; nor his *improving* their Barbarities into profitable Instruction; constituted any Part of that Righteousness, for the Sake of which he was *justified* before God. He considered them as valuable *Fruits* of the Spirit, and as *Proofs* of Grace received: but not as Matter of *Merit*; not as Causes or Conditions, either of his present or future Acceptance with the Majesty of Heaven. Yet this Consideration did by no Means render him negligent to obey, or reluctant to suffer. Warmed with the Faith that Works by Love, his Language was, *Καλον εμοι αποθανειν δια Ιησυν Χριστον, η βασιλευειν την περαλον της γης*: “*It is better for me to die for Jesus Christ, than to be Monarch of the whole Earth (u).*”

IV. POLYCARP

(s) Ου πεισμοῦς τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ μεγέθους, ἐστὶν ὁ χριστιανός. Ep. ad Rom. P. 57.

(t) Ὅτι καὶ εὐεργετημένοι χεῖρας γενόμεθα. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν αὐτῶν, μάλλον μαθητευομαί. ἀλλ’ οὐ παρὰ τούτῳ δεδικαιώμαί. Ibid. P. 58.

(u) Ibid. P. 59.

IV. POLYCARP, Bishop of Smyrna, is, by many (among whom are *Usher* and *Cave*,) supposed to have been the Person meant by *the Angel of the Church in Smyrna*, mentioned *Rev. ii. 8.* That he was one of the Apostle *John's* Disciples, cannot be questioned, if antient Testimony be allowed to carry the least Weight. He was burnt alive for the Christian Faith, A. D. 167, or (as others) 169, in about the Hundredth Year of his Age, and about the 74th of his Episcopate.

We have one Epistle of his, written to the Believers at *Philippi*. From this venerable, but concise Performance, two or three short Extracts may suffice.

He terms the *Chains*, with which many persecuted Christians were bound for their Attachment to the Gospel, “*The ornamental Bracelets of them that have been really ELECTED by God and our Lord (x).*” For those, who have been “*really elected*,” he believed that the Blood of Christ was shed: for he presently adds, “*Who submitted to go unto Death itself, for OUR Sins (y).*” And, farther on: “*It was for US, that he underwent all Things; that WE might live through Him (z).*” Nor was he less sound, in the Article of *gratuitous* Justification by the *sovereign* Will of God: “*Into which Joy,*” says he, “*many are exceedingly desirous to enter: knowing, that ye are saved by GRACE; NOT OF WORKS, but BY THE WILL OF GOD through Jesus Christ (a).*”

Polycarp

(x) Ἄ τινὰ ἐστὶ διαδηματὰ τῶν ἀληθῶς ὑπο Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἐκλεγεμένων. POLYCARPI Ep. ad *Philipp.* Sect. I. Edit. *Cotel.*

(y) Ὅς ὑπομένειν, ὡς τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, ἕως θανάτου καταντησαι. Ibid.

(z) Ἀλλὰ οἱ ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ζήσωμεν ἐν αὐτῷ, πάντα ὑπέμεινε. Ibid. Sect. VIII.

(a) Εἰς ἣν πολλοὶ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν εἰσελθεῖν. εἰδοτες, ὅτι χάριτι ἐσσεώσμενοι. οὐκ ἐξ ἐργῶν, ἀλλὰ δωρηματι Θεοῦ, διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ibid. Sect. I.

Polycarp considered his own Martyrdom for the Faith, as an Event which God had *fore-ordained*: for, in the Prayer which he offered up, after he was bound to the Stake with his Hands behind him, was this Expression; “*Among whom,*” i. e. among that Company of foregoing Martyrs, who had already set their Lives as a Seal to Truth, “*may I be received unto thee, this Day, for a goodly and acceptable Sacrifice: even as thou, the faithful God, who canst not lye, hast FORE-APPOINTED, and didst reveal to me beforehand, and hast accordingly brought to pass (b).*” The same Christians of *Smyrna*, who recorded their Bishop’s dying Prayer, appear to have agreed in Judgment with him, as to *Perseverance*, and the *Extent* of our Lord’s Redemption: for, in their *Circular Letter* to the Churches, occasioned by the Martyrdom of their holy Pastor, they observe, the Jews and Heathens “*do not know that we SHALL NEVER BE ABLE TO FORSAKE CHRIST, who suffered for the Salvation of the WHOLE WORLD OF THEM THAT ARE SAVED (c).*” They conclude their Epistle with this affectionate Wish: “*We pray for your Health and Happiness, Brethren; and that ye may, according to the Gospel, walk in the Doctrine of Jesus Christ: together with whom, be Glory ascribed to God, even our Father, and to the Holy Spirit, for saving the holy ELECT People (d).*”—A Person, named *Pionius*, who, afterwards,

(b) Εν οἷς προσδεχθῆιν ἐνωπιον σε σημερον, ἐν θυσια πιονι κὲ προσδεκτη, καθως περηνιομασας κὲ περὲφανερωσας κὲ ἐπληρωσας, ὁ ἀψευδης κὲ ἀληθινος Θεος. Epist. Eccles. *Smyrn. de Martyrio Polycarpi*, Sect. XIV.

(c) Ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἕτε τον Χριστον ποτε καταλιπειν δυνασομεθα, του ὑπερ της τε παντοῦ κοσμου των σωζομενων σωτηριας παθοντα. Ibid. Sect. XVII.

(d) Εἰρωδαι ὑμας ευχομεθα, ἀδελφοι, φοιχενιας τῷ κατὰ το εὐαγγελιον λογω Ἰησου Χριστου. μεθ’ ἡ, δοξα τῷ Θεῳ, κὲ πατρὶ, κὲ Ἁγίῳ Πνευματι, ἐπὶ ζωτηρια τῇ των ἁγίων ἐκλεκτων. Ib. S. XXII.

wards took a Copy of the above Congregational Epistle ; adds this pious Prayer for himself: “*That the Lord Jesus Christ would gather ME also with his ELECT (e).*”

By this Time, it sufficiently appears, that Mr *Sellon* must be extremely deficient either in *Knowledge*, or in *Honesty* (I am prone to think, in *Both*;) else, even *he* would never have ventured to assert, that Predestination, and its concomitant Doctrines, “do not appear to have been held “by any Body, during the first Four Centuries from the “Christian *Æra*.” *Calvinism* is, by no Means, that *novel* Thing, which it is for the Interest of Arminianism to wish. What Mr *Sellon* sneeringly calls “*The good old Cause*,” is INDEED an *old* Cause, and a *good* one. The Doctrines of Grace *must* needs be *good old* Doctrines, was it only because they are so plentifully diffused through a *good old* Book, called the Bible. We have, also, just seen, that they are likewise asserted by those *good old* Divines, who lived nearest to the Apostles, and who were actually conversant with them. I have, moreover, shewn, again and again, and hope to give still farther Proof of it in the Course of the present Defence, that the said *good old* Doctrines are the Doctrines of the *good old* Church of England, and were the avowed Principles of her *good old* Reformers. Whereas the Tenets of Messieurs *Wesley* and *Sellon* are as *bad* as they are *new*. I mean, *new*, COMPARATIVELY speaking: else they are (as I intend to demonstrate, before I have done with them) as *old* as *Pelagius*. But no Scheme of Errors, however grey, is of equal Antiquity with the Truths from which it deviates.

(e) ἵνα καὶ με συναγαγῇ ὁ κυριος Ἰησους Χριστος μετὰ των εκλεκτων αυτου. Ibid. Sect. XXIV.

SECTION VIII.

The Judgment of some eminent Christians, who flourished BEFORE the Reformation, concerning the Doctrines in Debate.

EVEN in the *worst* and *darkest* of Times, God has never left himself entirely without Witness, nor permitted the Truths of his Gospel to be totally exterminated. They have, sometimes, lain, to all outward Appearance, in very few Hands: but they have constantly subsisted somewhere. The Prophet *Elijah* once imagined, that *himself* was the *only* Person who was kept faithful to God, amidst that Torrent of Idolatry, which then overwhelmed the Land of Israel. *But what said the Answer of God unto him? I have RESERVED to MYSELF seven Thousand Men who have not bowed the Knee to the Image of Baal.* Even so then, at this present Time also, there is, and at every Time there has been and shall be, a Remnant, according to the ELECTION of Grace (*f*). However discouraging Appearances may be, in Seasons either of Persecution, Idolatry, or general Profaneness; there are many *known* Instances of Divine Preservation; and many others, *unknown* by us, but noticed by him who *knoweth them that are his* (*g*).

Ask now of the Days that are past, which were before thee, and they will testify of his unfailing Faithfulness, not only in *enduing* his People with Faith, and love to the Truth; but also in *raising up* some of them, to be Witnesses for Christ. Even within the Circle of *my* contracted Reading, I have met with Accounts of many. A select Number of the most distinguished shall, without farther Ceremony,
be

(*f*) Rom. xi. —6.

(*g*) 2 Tim. ii. 19.

be introduced to Mr *Sellon*: and I heartily wish he may profit by their Acquaintance,

I. Among those who may, with the strictest Justice, be styled, *The MORNING STARS of the REFORMATION*; were the antient and famous Churches of the *Albigenses* and *Waldenses*: so denominated from *Alby*, a City of *Languedoc* in *France*, where they abounded in great Numbers: and afterwards, about the Year 1170, from *Peter Valdo* (*b*), an opulent Citizen of *Lyons*, by whom these excellent People were much countenanced and assisted. Though some suppose them to have acquired the Name of *Waldenses*, quasi *Vallenses*, from their being extremely numerous in the Valleys of *Piedmont*. Others, from the German (*i*) Word *Waldt*, which signifies a *Wood*: Woods being their frequent Refuge from Persecution.

Dr *Allix*, in his *Remarks on the Ecclesiastical History* of these Churches, is, in general, prodigiously careful not to drop the least Hint concerning (what has been since called) the *Calvinism* of those Christians. But the present Learned Bishop of *Bristol* has been more just and candid. His Lordship tells us, from *Mezeray*, that “they had AL-
“ MOST the same Opinions, as those who are now called Calvi-
“ nists (*k*).” It will, I apprehend, be easily made appear, that

(*b*) “Omnium verò maximè notari meretur *Petrus Valdo*, civis “*Lugdunensis*; qui, cùm dives esset, bona sua omnia in Pauperum “Usum impendit: expositisque, vernaculo Sermone, sacris Literis “confluentem ad se Multitudinem puriori Fide imbuìt.” *Job. Alph. Turretini* Hist. Eccl. Compend. p. 149 — See a much larger Account of this good Man, in *USHER De Eccl. Christian. Successione*, c. 8.

(*i*) Vide *Maeſtrichtii Opera*, p. 1121.

(*k*) *Dissertation on the Prophecies*, vol. 3. p. 177.—Lord *Lytelton* has a similar Remark: who observes, that the Doctrine of the *Albigenses*, &c. “Was much the same with the Creed of “the Protestant Churches in these Days.” *Life of Henry II.* vol. 4. p. 395. Octavo.

that their Opinions were not only *almost*, but *altogether* the same. Nor did they soon deviate from the Evangelical System of their Fore-fathers : for, so low down as the *Æra* of the *Reformation*, I find that “ They sent to *Zuinglius* “ for Teachers, and afterwards to *Calvin* : of whose Sentiments,” add the Compilers of the Work I quote, “ the Remainder of them, called the *Vaudois*, continue to be (1).”

Their first Rise was of very considerable Antiquity. The *Romish* Council, assembled, by Order of Pope *Alexander III.* at *Tours*, in May, 1163, prohibited all Persons, under Pain of Excommunication, from having any Inter-course with these People ; who are described as teaching and professing “ a damnable Heresy, LONG SINCE sprung “ up in the Territory of *Toulouse* (m).” *Van Maestricht* assures us, that they wrote against the Errors and Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*, in the Year 1100 (n). According to *Pilichdoffius* (o), the *Waldenses* themselves carried up the Date of their Commencement as a Body, as high as three Hundred Years after *Constantine*, i. e. to about the Year 637. For my own Part, I believe their Antiquity to have been higher still. I agree with some of our oldest and best Protestant Divines, in considering the *Albigenses*, or *Waldenses* (for they were, in Fact, one and the same), to have been a Branch of that Visible Church, against which the Gates of Hell could never totally prevail ; and that the uninterrupted Succession of Apostolical Doctrine continued with *Them*, from the Primitive Times, quite down to the Reformation : soon after which Period, they

(1) *Great Hist. Diſ. Art. ALBIG.*

(m) *Bower's Hist. of the Popes, Vol. 6. p. 128.*

(n) “ *Imprimis etiam Veritati Testimonium præbuerunt Ecclesie Waldenses ; earumque Confessiones, Catecheses, jam Anno M C scriptæ adversus Errores & superstitiones Ecclesie Romanæ.*” *Opera*, p. 1120.

(o) Vide *Usserium, De Christi Ecclesiar. Success. Cap. 8. p. 109.*

they seem to have been melted into the common Mass of Protestants. Neither does this Conjecture limit the *Extent* of the visible Church in former Ages, to so narrow a Compass, as may at first be imagined. For they were, says *Poplinerus* (p), “ Diffused, not only throughout all “ *France*, in the Year 1100, but through almost every “ Country in *Europe*. And”, says he, “ to this very “ Day, they have their stubborn Partizans in *France*, “ *Spain*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Italy*, *Germany*, *Bohemia*, *Saxony*, “ *Poland*, *Lithuania*, and other Nations.”

Archbishop *Usher*, whose Enquiries were never superficial, and whose Conclusions are never precipitate; lays great Stress on a remarkable Passage in *Reinerius*, a Popish Inquisitor, who died about the Year 1259. The Passage is this: “ Of all the Sects which as yet exist, or ever “ have existed, none is more detrimental to the Church,” i. e. to the *Romish* Church, “ than the Sect of the *Waldenses*. And this on three Accounts: 1. Because it is “ a much *more antient* Sect, than any other. For, some “ say, that it has continued ever since the Popedom of “ *Silvester* (q): others, that it has subsisted *from the Time “ of the Apostles*. — 2. It is a more *extensive* Sect, than any “ other: for there is almost *no Country*, in which this Sect “ has not a Footing. — 3. This Sect has a mighty Appearance of *Piety*: inasmuch as they live justly before Men, “ and believe all Things rightly concerning God, and “ all the Articles contained in the Creed. They only “ blaspheme the *Roman* Church and Clergy (r).”

I have premised enough, concerning the *People*. Let us now enquire into the Particulars of their *Faith*.

There

(p) Apud *Usher*. u. f. p. 106.

(q) There were *two* Popes of this Name. *Silvester* I. died A. D. 335. *Silvester* II. A. D. 1003.

(r) *USHER De Success.* p. 78.—Dr *CAVE* also lays as much Stress on this Testimony, as does Archbishop *Usher*: See his *Historia Literaria*, Vol. I. p. 632.—And so does the Great *SPANHEMIUS*, *Oper.* Vol. 3. Col. 1129.

There is extant, a short *Waldensian* Confession, written in the Year 1120. and consisting of XIV. Articles. The 1st Article professes their Agreement with, what is usually termed, *The Apostles Creed*. The 2^d acknowledges *Father, Son, and Holy Spirit*, to be the *one God*. The 3^d recapitulates the *Canonical Books* of the Old and New Testament, just as they now stand in the Protestant Bibles; and excepts against the *Apocrypha*, as uninspired. The 4th asserts, that, “*By the Disobedience of Adam, Sin entered into the World, and we are made Sinners in Adam, and by Adam.*” The 5th runs thus: “*Christ was promised to our Forefathers; who received the Law, to the end that, knowing their Sin by the Law, and their UNRIGHTEOUSNESS and INSUFFICIENCY, they might desire the Coming of CHRIST, to SATISFY for their Sins, and, BY HIMSELF, to ACCOMPLISH the Law.*” The 6th affirms, that “*Christ was born at the Time APPOINTED by God his Father.*” The 7th, “*Christ is our Life and Truth, and Peace and RIGHTEOUSNESS, and Advocate, and Master, and Priest: who DIED FOR THE SALVATION OF ALL THOSE WHO BELIEVE, and is raised again for our Justification(s).*” Six of the remaining Articles are leveled at the Superstitions of Popery: and the last testifies their due Subjection to the Civil Powers.

Almost 400 Years afterwards, the Descendents of those Antient and Evangelical Churches gave Proof, that they were, in no Respect whatever, degenerated from the Purity and Simplicity of the Gospel. For, in the Beginning of the Year 1508, I find them presenting a large Account of their Faith, in three separate Papers, addrest to *Uladislaus*, King of Hungary. “We believe,” say they, “and confess, that Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, Three in Person, but One in the Essence of Deity, is the *Producer of FAITH* and the *Giver of SAL-*
L VATION.

“ VATION (t).” They say, speaking of Christ, “ By
 “ whose Merit the alone Father accomplishes our Salva-
 “ tion, according to the PURPOSE of his own ELECTION (u).”
 They affirm, that “ He *intercedes* for THOSE who shall
 “ possess the Inheritance of Glory (x):” and that “ He
 “ *forsaketh not* his CHURCH, for which he offered up him-
 “ self unto Death;” but is ever present with Her, “ in a
 “ Way of Grace, Efficacy, and Help, which are his free
 “ Gift (y).” They define the holy, universal Church to
 be “ The Aggregate of all the ELECT, from the Begin-
 “ ning of the World to the End of it:—whose Names
 “ and Number he alone can tell, who hath inscribed them
 “ in the Book of Life (z).” To *These* Persons, Grace
 is given: “ The first and principal Ministry of the uni-
 “ versal Church, is the Gospel of Christ, wherein are
 “ reveled the Grace and Truth which He hath painfully
 “ purchased for us by the Torture of the Cross; which
 “ Grace is given to the ELECT, who are *called* by the
 “ Holy Ghost and God the Father unto Salvation, with
 “ the

(t) “ Credimus & satemur, factorem atque Fidei salutis Datorem
 “ esse Deum Omnipotentem, in Deitatis substantiâ Unum, in
 “ Personis verò Trinum, Patrem, Filium, Spiritumque Sanctum.”
Fascic. Rer. fug. & expet. Vol. 1. p. 163.

(u) “ Cujus Merito, solus Genitor, secundum Propositum
 “ Electionis sue, salutem operatur.” *Ibid.*

(x) “ Qui, in solo Gratiae residens fidelis Advocatus, inter-
 “ pellat pro his, qui Hæreditatem Gloriæ percepturi sunt.” *Ibid.*

(y) “ Ecclesiam suam, pro quâ seipsam obtulit ad Mortis sup-
 “ plicium, Gratiâ, Virtute, Auxilioque, Dono gratuito, non
 “ deserit.” *Ibid.*

(z) “ Credimus, sanctam Catholicam Ecclesiam—esse Nu-
 “ merum omnium Electorum, à Mundi Exordio, usque ipsius
 “ Consummationem:—quorum Nomina, Numerumque, ille
 “ solus scit, qui ea in Vitæ Libro exaravit.” *Ibid.* p. 164.

“ the Gift of Faith (a).” Under the Article, entitled *Communio Sanctorum*, they come, if possible, more roundly to the Point. Nothing can be clearer, than their *Meaning*; though the Persons, who drew up the Confession, were far from commanding a good Style in *Latin*. “ It is manifest,” say they, “ that such *only*, as are ELECTED to Glory, become Partakers of true Faith, Grace, Righteousness in the Merit of Christ, [and] eternal Salvation (b).”

What they deliver concerning the Doctrine of *Purgatory*, though rather uncouthly expressed, deserves to be lain before the Reader. “ There is no other chief Place of determinate *Purgatory*, but the Lord *Christ*: of whom it was truly said by the Angel, *He shall save His PEOPLE from their Sins*. And so saith St Paul: *Having made a Purgation of Sins, he sat down at the Right Hand of the Majesty on high*. — Every one, therefore, who shall be saved, must draw from this full Fountain of Righteousness and Goodness. By Grace alone, through the Gift of Faith, whosoever is to be saved, cometh to the Purgation by Christ Jesus; as saith St Paul: *A Man is NOT justified by the WORKS of the Law, but by the FAITH of Jesus Christ; and we BELIEVE in Christ Jesus, that we may be JUSTIFIED by the FAITH of Christ, and NOT by the WORKS of the Law*. And Christ himself saith, *He that BELIEVETH on Me, HATH eternal Life (c)*.”

L 2

I take

(a) “ *Primum & potissimum Ministerium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, est Evangelium Christi; quo Gratia & Veritas, Crucis Tormento laboriosè acquisita, manifestatur: quæ Gratia Electis, vocatis Dono Fidei à Spiritu Sancto, Deoque Patri, in salutem largitur.*” *Ibid.*

(b) “ *Palam itaque est, quod tantummodò Electi, veræ Fidei, Gratiæ, Justitiæ in Christi Merito, ad Gloriam, salutis æternæ Participes sunt.*” *Ibid.* p. 167.

(c) “ *Nullus alius Locus est principalis certi Purgatorii, nisi Dominus Christus de quo resè est dictum ab Angelo, Ipse enim*
“ *salvum*

I take Leave of this Confession, with one Citation more.
 “ St Paul says, *Christ loved his CHURCH, and gave him-*
 “ *self for IT, that he might sanctify it, &c.* It is not said
 “ That he might prepare her for *Hell*; but for *Heaven*,
 “ and for Repose, after her present Toils. For it is CER-
 “ TAIN, that ONLY THE ELECT of God are BLESSED;
 “ and God leadeth THEM into that Righteousness, which
 “ we have already treated of. Concerning them, the
 “ Apostle saith, *He hath ELECTED us in HIM, before the*
 “ *Foundation of the World, that we should be holy and blame-*
 “ *less before him in Love.* And again, he saith: *Whom he*
 “ *did PREDESTINATE, them he also CALLED; and whom*
 “ *he called, them he also JUSTIFIED (d).*”

Archbishop Usher presents us with another concise Pro-
 fession of Faith, transmitted by these good People to *Fran-*
cis I. of France, in the Year 1544: which, though sub-
 sequent to the Opening of the Reformation, is too excel-
 lent to be wholly unnoticed in this Place. A single Ex-
 tra&ct, however, shall suffice. “ We believe, that there is
 “ but one God; who is a Spirit, the Maker of all Things,
 “ the Parent all Men; who is over all, through all, and in
 “ us all, and is to be worshipped in Spirit and in Truth,
 “ whom

“ *salvum faciet Populum suum à Peccatis eorum.* Et sic dicit sanc-
 “ tus Paulus: *Purgationem Peccatorum faciens, sedet ad Dexterum*
 “ *Majestatis in excelsis.*—Et omnis, qui salvabitur, oportet eum
 “ de hoc fonte sumere pleno Justitiæ & æquitatis:—ex soli
 “ Gratiâ, per Donum Fidei, quisquis salvandus venit ad Purga-
 “ torium per Jesum Christum: ut dicit sanctus Paulus; *Non jus-*
 “ *tificatur Homo ex Operibus Legis, &c.*” Ibid. p. 178.

(d) “ Sanctus Paulus dicit, *Christus dilexit ecclesiam, et seme-*
 “ *ipsum tradidit pro ea, ut illam sanctificaret, &c.* Non ut pa-
 “ raret eam in Infernum; sed in Cœlum, in Quietem, post præ-
 “ sentes Labores. Quia certum est, quòd soli beati sunt Electi
 “ Dei; & illos ducit Deus in eam Justitiam, quam superius posui-
 “ mus: de Quibus Apostolus dicit, *Elegit nos in ipso, ante Con-*
 “ *situtionem Mundi, ut essemus sancti et immaculati in Conspectu*
 “ *ejus in Charitate.* Et iterum dicit; *Quos prædestinavit, hos &*
 “ *vocavit: & quos vocavit, hos & justificavit.*” Ibid. p. 179.

“ whom alone we hope for; the Distributor of Life, Food,
 “ and Raiment; the Distributor also of Health and Sick-
 “ nefs, of Conveniences and Inconveniences. Him we
 “ love, as the Author of all Goodness: Him we dread, as
 “ the Inspector of Hearts.

“ We believe JESUS CHRIST to be the Son and Image
 “ of the Father; in whom dwelleth all the Fulness of
 “ the Godhead; by whom we come to the Knowledge
 “ of the Father, and who is our Mediator and Advocate:
 “ neither is there any other Name under Heaven, given
 “ unto Men, whereby to be saved.

“ We believe that we possess the HOLY GHOST, the
 “ Comforter, proceeding from the Father and the Son:
 “ by whose Inspiration, we are enabled to pray; and by
 “ whose Efficacy, we are born again. He it is, who
 “ worketh all good Works in us: and by him are we
 “ led into all Truth.

“ We believe that there is one Holy CHURCH, viz.
 “ The Congregation of all God’s Elect, from the Begin-
 “ ning to the End of the World, whose Head is our Lord
 “ Jesus Christ. Which Church is governed by the Word,
 “ and led by the Spirit of God.

“ We believe, that the Pious, and those who fear God,
 “ will approve themselves unto Him by being studious of
 “ GOOD WORKS, which God hath prepared beforehand,
 “ that they should walk in them: such are, Love, Joy,
 “ Peace, Patience, Kindness, Honesty, Modesty, Tem-
 “ perance, and what other Works we find applauded in
 “ Scripture (e).” It would, perhaps, be difficult to meet

L 3

with

(e) “ Credimus unum tantum esse Deum, qui spiritus est, Rerum
 “ cunctarum Conditor, Pater omnium, super et per omnia, in
 “ nobis omnibus, adorandus in Spiritu & Veritate, quem solum
 “ expectamus; Datorem Vitæ, Alimentorum, Indumentorum,
 “ prosperæ item Valetudinis, Infirmitatis, Commodorum, & In-
 “ commodorum. Hunc diligimus, tanquam omnis Bonitatis
 “ Autorem; &, ceu Cordium inspectorem, timemus.

“ Jesum

with so much genuine Gospel, comprized within so small Compass, in any Writings, except the Inspired. If the Reader be desirous to know the horrid and almost unparalleled Persecutions, which the *Albigenses* suffered at the Hands of the *Romish* Church, from Age to Age (after the more open Apostacy of that Church from the original Faith of the Gospel), even to the Extinction of no fewer than *Ten Hundred Thousand* Lives; he may, among others, consult that excellent Work, entitled, *The (f) History of Popery* (a Book, which it is Pity that any Protestant should be without), and Mr *Samuel Clarke's* General (g) Martyrology. That most excellent Prince, *Lewis XII. of France*, was actuated by a better Spirit. When incited to persecute the *Waldenses*, he returned this truly great Reply: *God forbid that I should persecute Any for being more Religious than Myself.*

From whole *Churches*, let us, for the present, pass to particular *Persons*.

II. *Gottsf-*

“ *Jesum Christum credimus esse Patris Filium & Imaginem;*
 “ *in Quo omnis Plenitudo Deitatis habitat; per quem cognos-*
 “ *cimus Patrem: qui noster est Mediator & Advocatus; nec*
 “ *ullum aliud sub Cœlo Nomen Hominiibus datum est, per quod*
 “ *servari nos oporteat.——*

“ *Credimus nos habere Consolatorem, Spiritum Sanctum, à*
 “ *Patre & Filio procedentem; cujus Inspiratione precamur, &*
 “ *Efficaciâ regeneramur. Is in nobis omnia bona Opera efficit:*
 “ *atque per Eum in omnem deducimur Veritatem.*

“ *Credimus unam sanctam Ecclesiam, omnium Electorum*
 “ *Dei, à constitutione ad Finem Mundi, Congregationem: cujus*
 “ *Caput est Dominus noster Jesus Christus. Hanc Verbum Dei*
 “ *gubernat, Spiritus Sanctus ducit.——*

“ *Pios et Deum timentes credimus Deo se probaturos ut bonis*
 “ *vacent Operibus, quæ præparavit, ut in eis ambulent. Hæc*
 “ *autem Opera sunt Charitas, Gaudium, Pax, Patientia, Benig-*
 “ *nitatis, Probitas, Modestia, Temperantia, aliaque Opera in*
 “ *Scripturis commendata.”* *Usher. De Succession. Cap. 10 p 151.*

(f) Comprized in two Volumes, small *Quarto*; and printed at *London*, 1735.

(g) Folio, *Lond.* 1660.

II. *Gotteschalvus*, sometime a *Benedictin* Monk in the Monastery of *Orbez*, and Diocese of *Soissons*; flourished about A.D. 840. He is thought to have obtained the Sir-name of *Fulgentius*, or the *Shining*, on Account of his uncommon Attainments in Literature (*b*): though, perhaps, his Agreement in Doctrine with the famous *Fulgentius* (Bishop of *Ruspæ*, in *Africa*, who was counted the *St Austin* of his Age, and died in the Year 533), might have given the first Occasion to calling him by that Name.

Archbishop *Usser* has written the History (*i*) of this worthy and learned Person, and of the Controversies concerning *Predestination* and *Free-will*, which his (i. e. *Gotteschalvus's*) Writings and Sufferings were the Means of reviving in the ninth Century. To this elaborate Performance of the great Prelate, I stand indebted for most of the Particulars which I am now going to lay before the Reader.

It seems uncertain, whether *Gotteschalvus* was a native of *Germany*, or of *France*. His Name appears to indicate the former (*k*).

His deep Acquaintance with the Writings of *St Austin* brought him into Love with the Doctrines of *Grace*: and he determined to avow them, at all Events. In such a Church as the *Roman*, and in a Period of such Religious Darkness as the ninth Age, it was no Wonder that his ardent Espousal of the Evangelical System, and the unyielding Firmness with which he openly maintained it, should involve him in a Series of Persecution, which, at length, sunk him to his Grave.

Hincmar was made Archbishop of *Rheims*, A. D. 845. and soon distinguished himself as *Gotteschalv's* inexorable Oppressor. This Prelate had a Mind, unsoftened with

(b) *Cave's* Hikor. Liter. vol I. p. 558.

(i) Entitled, *Gotteschalvi, & Prædestinationæ Controversiæ ab eo motæ, Historia*. Dublini, 1631.

(k) *GOTT* enim Germanis *Deum*, *SCHALCK* *seruum*, denotat: ut *Gotteschalvus* Θεοδουλός, sive *Dei servum*, sonet. *Usserii* Gotelc. p. 14.

any one of the humane Feelings (*l*): and, for his Religion, it was Christianity Reversed. Mean, sanguinary, and imperious, by nature; he had, moreover, imbibed some of the grossest Dregs of *Pelagianism* (*m*): which he obtruded on others, with an Enthusiastic Vehemence, bordering on Madness; and with a Fierceness, nothing short of Brutal. From a Metropolitan, thus disposed, and thus principled; armed, too, with that Extent of Authority, which Ecclesiastics of his Rank then possessed; *Gotteschal* had nothing to look for, but that unrelenting Hatred and Severity, which superior Merit [especially, when it ventures to deviate from the beaten Path] seldom fails to experience, at the Hands of Those, in whom, Ignorance and Bigotry are united with the Powers of Mischief.

Among the Articles, which *Hincmar* charged this Holy Man with maintaining, were the Three following (*n*).

1. That, “*As God hath predestinated certain Persons to Life eternal; so hath He, likewise, preordained other certain Persons to eternal Death.*”

2. “*It is not the Will of God, that every One of Mankind should be saved: He willeth the Salvation of those only who*” [eventually] “*ARE saved. All are saved, whom God wills*

“ to

(*l*) He caused his own Nephew and Namesake, *Hincmar*, Bishop of *Laon*, to be deposed from his See, in 871, and thrown into Prison, where both his Eyes were put out; because, in a Dispute between the Pope and the French King, he had sided with the former, contrary to the Judgment of his Uncle.

(*m*) Nor was he a Pelagian only, but a violent *Anti trinitarian* also: as appears from the following remarkable Incident, mentioned by *Dr Cave*. “*Interiit Liber à Ratramno scriptus pro Defensione Hymni cujusdam vetusti, cui Versiculum istum [te Trina Deitas Unaque præcimus] Hincmarus expungi jusserat; te Summa Deitas, deinceps, in Ecclesiâ suâ, cantari præcipiens.*” *Hist. Lit.* p. 530. sub Art. *BERTRAMUS*.

(*n*) *Usserii Gottesch.* p. 15, 16. — *Necnon Vossii Hist. Pelagian.* L. 7. Par. 4. p. 738.

“ to save: consequently, whoever perish, it was not the Divine
 “ Pleasure to save them. For, if all those are not saved,
 “ whom God willeth to be so; it would follow, that God does
 “ not ACT according to His own WILL: and, if He wills
 “ more than He is able to perform, He is no longer omni-
 “ potent, but impotent. But the Scripture affirms that He is
 “ omnipotent: for He doth whatsoever He pleased to do. All
 “ Things that the Lord would, hath He DONE, in Hea-
 “ ven, and in Earth, in the Sea, and in all Deep Places,
 Psal. cxxxv. 6. Again: O Lord, the King Almighty,
 “ the whole World is in thy Power; and, if Thou hast
 “ appointed to save Israel, there is no Man that can gain-
 “ say thee. Thou art Lord of all Things, and there is
 “ no Man that can resist Thee who art the Lord. *Esther*
 “ xiii. 9, 11.

“ 3. Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ was not crucified
 “ and put to Death for the Redemption of the entire World,
 “ i. e. not for the Ransom and Salvation of the Whole of
 “ Mankind; but only for such as are saved.”

To these were afterwards added, as Doctrines of *Gottschalc*:

“ They, who are predestinated to Destruction, cannot be
 “ saved: and they, who are predestinated to the Kingdom,
 “ cannot perish.

“ Ever since the first Man fell by his Free-Will, none of
 “ us are able to use their Free-Wills unto Good, but only to
 “ Evil(o).”

Gottschalc's Opinions were, undoubtedly, stated by *Hincmar* in the most rigorous and exceptionable Terms. For this Reason, let us hear the judicious and learned Martyr speak for Himself. This he continues to do, in two separate Confessions of his Faith, penned by his own Hand, and which are, happily, still preserved (p).

“ I believe,” says he, “ and acknowledge, that the Almighty
 “ and Unchangeable God gratuitously foreknew and predestinated
 “ the

(o) *Uffer*. Ibid. p. 28.

(p) *Apud Uffer*. Ibid. à p. 211. ad p. 237.

“ *the Holy Angels, and Elect Men, unto Life eternal.*—
 “ St Austin *asks*, ‘ Wherefore said our Lord to the Jews,
 “ ‘ *Ye believe not, because ye are not of my Sheep?* Because’
 “ (saith Austin) ‘ our Lord perceived that they were pre-
 “ ‘ destined to everlasting Destruction, and were not
 “ ‘ purchased with the Price of His Blood. — What Mis-
 “ ‘ chief, then, can the Wolf do? What Hurt can the
 “ ‘ Thief and the Robber do? They can destroy those
 “ ‘ only who are predestinated thereunto.’ *The same St*
 “ Austin, *speaking of the TWO WORLDS, expresses himself*
 “ *thus*: ‘ The Church is an (q) Whole World, and there
 “ ‘ is also an Whole World which hateth the Church.
 “ ‘ The World’ [of the Reprobate] ‘ hateth the World’
 “ [of the Elect]: ‘ The World of Those who are at En-
 “ ‘ mity with God, hateth that World which is reconciled
 “ ‘ to Him; the World of the Condemned hateth the
 “ ‘ World of the Saved; the World of the Impure hateth
 “ ‘ the World of the Holy.’ Austin saith again: ‘ There
 “ ‘ is a World, of which the Apostle says, *That we should*
 “ ‘ *not be condemned with the World,* 1 Cor. ii. 32. For
 “ ‘ THIS World, our Lord doth not pray.’ So also speak-
 “ *eth St (r) ISIDORE*; ‘ There is a Double Predestination:
 “ ‘ of the Elect, unto Happiness; and of the Reprobate,
 “ ‘ unto Death’ (s).”

The

(q) *Witfius* has a similar Thought; but much more elegantly expressed. “ *Electi fideles, post vocationem efficacem, & con-*
 “ *siderati cum exornante eos Gratia Dei; licet minor, melior*
 “ *tamen Mundi Pars, et immundi Mundi Mundus sunt.*” De
Oecon. Fard. l. 2. c. 9. S. 13.

(r) I suppose, the Person, here quoted by *Gotteschalc*, was that
Isidore, who fixed his Seat of Retirement at, or near, *Pelufium*
 (now *Belbeis*;) in *Egypt*; whence he is commonly called, *Isido-*
rus Pelusiota. He flourished about A. D. 412.

(s) *Credo et confiteor, Deum Omnipotentem et incommuta-*
 “ *bilem præfuisse et prædestinasse Angelos sanctos, et Homines*
 “ *Electos, ad Vitam gratis æternam.*—*Beatus AUGUSTINUS*
 “ — ita dicit,—*Quare dicit Dominus Judæis, Vos non credi-*

“ *tis,*

The above Extract is from *Gotteschalc's* smaller Confession. His larger one runs in the Form of a most pious and solemn Address to Almighty God. It were needless to cite any Parts of it, after what has been already produced. Whoever pleases, may see it, at full Length, in *Usher's* History, referred to below.

For thus believing, the great and good Man was *degraded* from the Order of Priesthood, and *imprisoned* in the Monastery of *Hault-Villier*. He was, moreover, sentenced to undergo the Punishment of *Scourging*: which inhuman Discipline was continually repeted, with the most merciless Severity, 'till, by mere Dint of Torture, they had compelled him to commit one of his own Books to the Flames, which he had written, in Favor of Predestination, against *Raban*, Archbishop of *Mentz*. His Sufferings might, at any Time, have been exchanged for Liberty and Ease, had he but dissembled his Judgment, and ceased to avow his Faith. But he was enabled to continue stedfast, to the very last. No Torments could induce him to deny, with his Mouth, the Grace which he loved in his Heart. In Him was eminently realized that Saying ascribed to *IGNATIUS*: *Stand firm, as a beaten Anvil. It is the Part of a magnanimous Combatant, to be torn in Pieces, and yet to overcome (s).*

I have

"tis, quia non estis ex Ovis meis? Nisi quia videbat eos ad sempiternum Interitum prædestinatos, non ad Vitam æternam sui sanguinis pretio comparatos.—Quid potest Lupus? Quid potest Fur & Latro? non perdit nisi ad Interitum prædestinatos. Item, de Duobus loquens Mundis: Totus Mundus Ecclesia est, & totus Mundus odit Ecclesiam. Mundus igitur odit Mundum: inimicus, reconciliatum: damnatus salvatum: inquinatus, mundatum. Item Est Mundus, de quo dicit Apostolus, Ne cum hoc Mundo damnemur. Pro isto Mundo Dominus non rogat. Unde dicit & S. ISIDORUS: Gemina est Prædestinatio, sive Electorum ad Requiem; sive Reproborum, ad Mortem." Apud *Usher*. u. s. p. 211, 212.

(1) Στηθι ἐδρασι, ὡς ἀκμὴν τυπόμενοι. μεγάλη ἐστὶ ἀβλήτης τοῦ διερεῶσαι, καὶ νικᾶν. *Ignat. ad Polyc.*

I have termed *Gotteschalck*, a Martyr. And such, in Fact, he was. I grant, his Execution was more tedious and lingering, than that of those who are usually crowned with that venerable Name. His Sufferings did not terminate with the Pain of an *Hour*, but were extended through a long Series of *Years*: and nothing, inferior to the Almighty Power of God, could have kept him *faithful unto Death*. Exhausted, at length, by an uninterrupted Succession of Hardships, he breathed out his Soul into the Hands of Christ, A.D. 870, in about the *One* and *twentyeth* Year of his Imprisonment.—*Hincmar*, to whole restless Persecutions this Man of God stood indebted for most of his Calamities, did not always ride triumphant on the Wheel of Prosperity. About 12 Years after the Death of *Gotteschalck*, the *Nordmans*, swarming from the North of *Europe*, made Irruptions into *France*: on which, the Prelate of *Rheims* thought proper to consult his personal Safety, by deserting his Flock.—Abdicating, therefore, the See, which he had so unworthily filled; he retreated (*Barbarus à Barbaris*) to a more solitary and secure Part of the Kingdom: in which melancholy Retirement, surrounded with Woods and Morasses, he died (probably, of a broken Heart,) A. D. 882.

III. *Remigius*, Archbishop of *Lyons*, and *Gotteschalck's* Cotemporary, deserves to be mentioned here, as an eminent Assertor of the Doctrines of Grace.

Hincmar of *Rheims* had written a Letter of Complaint against *Gotteschalck*, addressed to the Church of *Lyons*. This was replied to by *Remigius*: Part of whose Answer ran thus. “ The blessed Fathers of the Church do, with one
 “ Consent, with one Voice, and as it were with one Spirit, display and celebrate that Immovable Truth of God’s
 “ *Præscience* and *Prædestination*, respecting both its Parts,
 “ viz. concerning the *Elect* and *Reprobate*: to wit, [the
 “ *Predestination*] of the *Elect*, unto Glory; and of the
 “ *Reprobate*, not unto Sin, but unto Punishment. And
 “ in these Particulars, they [i. e. *the Fathers*] openly affirm
 “ that

“ that the unchangeable Series of God’s Disposals is de-
 “ monstrated to us : which Divine Disposals are not tem-
 “ poral, neither did they commence in any Period of Time,
 “ but are strictly eternal. Nor is it possible for any one
 “ *Elect* Person to perish : or that any of the *Reprobate*
 “ should be saved, because of their Hardness and Impe-
 “ nitency of Heart. This both the Verity of the sacred
 “ Writings, and the Authority of the Holy and Ortho-
 “ dox Fathers, harmoniously declare, and inculcate on
 “ us, as a Point to be believed and held by us without
 “ the least Doubt or Scruple.—Pursuant to the foregoing
 “ Account of the Universal Faith, Almighty God did,
 “ from the Beginning, prior to the Formation of the World,
 “ and before he had made any Thing, predestinate (for
 “ certain just, and immutable Reasons of his eternal
 “ Counsel) some certain Persons to Glory, of his own
 “ gratuitous Favor : of which certain Persons, not one
 “ shall perish, through his Mercy protecting them. Other
 “ certain Persons He hath predestinated to Perdition, by his
 “ just Judgment, for the evil Desert of their Ungodliness,
 “ which he foreknew : and, of these, none can be saved.
 “ Not because of any compulsive Violence offered them
 “ by the Divine Power, but because of the stubborn and
 “ persevering Naughtiness of their own Iniquity (u).” *Re-*
migiuz

(u) “ Ecce beatissimi Patres Ecclesiæ uno sensu, uno Ore,
 “ quia & uno Spiritu, Divinæ Præscientiæ & Prædestinationis
 “ immobilem Veritatem, in utrâque Parte, Electorum, scilicet, &
 “ Reproborum, prædicant & commendant : Electorum, utique,
 “ ad Gloriam ; Reproborum verò, non ad Culpam, sed ad Pœnam.
 “ Et in his, non temporalium, neque ex aliquo Tempore incho-
 “ antium, sed sempiternarum, Dispositionum Dei immutabilem
 “ Ordinem nobis demonstrari confirmant : nec aliquem Electro-
 “ rum posse perire, nec ullum Reproborum (propter Duritiam
 “ & Impœnitentiam Cordis sui) posse salvari. Hoc et Divinarum
 “ Scripturarum Veritas, et sanctorum atque orthodoxorum Pa-
“ trum

Remigius expresses himself with a prudential Guardedness, which reflects no little Honor on his Judgment. He acknowledged, as the present Calvinists also do, 1. That there most certainly are a two-fold Prescience and Predestination, terminating on two Sorts of Persons, the *Elect* and *Reprobate*. 2. That God's *Disposals*, or Decrees, are *strictly eternal*: and, 3. That they are *unchangeable*. 4. That, consequently, *not one Elect Person CAN perish*; nor, 5. any *Reprobate* be *saved*. 6. That the *Election* of the former was *absolutely gratuitous* and unmerited: 7. That the *Punishment* of the latter (observe: not their Reprobation itself, but their *Perdition*, or actual Damnation) is owing to their *foreseen ungodliness*. Which foreseen Ungodliness results, 8. not from any *compulsive force* offered to them or put upon them by God himself, but from that "*stubborn and persevering naughtiness of their own iniquity*," which God is, indeed, *able* to remove, but under the Power and Guilt of which it is his inscrutable *Will* to leave them.

Among the Illustrious Partizans of GRACE, I must not omit to number,

IV. *Florus*,

"trum Auctoritas, constantèr annuntiant, indubitanèr nobis credendum & tenendum inculcant. — Juxta præmissam Catholicæ Fidei Rationem, omnipotens Deus, ante Constitutionem Mundi, antequàm quicquam faceret, à Principio, certis et justis atque immutabilibus Causis æterni Consilii sui, Quosdam ad Regnum, gratuitâ Bonitate suâ, ex quibus nemo sit periturus, protegente Misericordiâ suâ; et Quosdam prædestinaverit ad Interitum, justo judicio suo, propter Meritum, quod præscivit, Impietatis eorum, ex quibus nemo possit salvari. Non propter Violentiam aliquam Divinæ Potestatis; sed propter indomabilem et perseverantem Nequitiam propriæ Iniquitatis." *Remigius*, apud *Usser*. Gottesc. p. 29.

The masterly Comment of *Remigius*, on that controverted Passage, *Who will have all Men to be saved and to come to the Knowledge of the Truth*, 1 Tim. ii. 4. may be seen at large, in *Usser*, u. l. p. 31. I wish it was not too prolix for insertion here.

IV. *Florus*, Sir-named *Magister*, a Deacon of the Church of *Lyons*: who, about A. D. 852, published a Defence of *Predestination*, in Opposition to a Semi-pelagian Treatise on that Subject, written by the famous Scholastic, *Duns Scotus*. The Drift of *Florus's* Book (drawn up, it seems, in the Name of the whole Church of *Lyons*) was, says *Vossius*, to prove, that “ That there is a double Predes-
 “ nation: viz. of some, who are elected unto Life; and
 “ of others, who are destined to Death. That Men have,
 “ by Nature, no Free-will, except to what is Evil. That
 “ the Elect are compelled to Good. But that the Repro-
 “ bate are not compelled to Sin: they are only compelled
 “ to undergo the Punishment which, by Sin, they have
 “ merited (x).” I am inclinable to doubt, whether *Vossius* (whose “ Pelagian History” might, with more Truth, be styled, *An Apology for Pelagianism*) has, in the above Passage, stated the Theses of *Florus* with sufficient Candor. I can hardly suppose, a Man of the Judgment and Learning, which *Florus* seems to have possessed, would ever assert, that “ The Elect are *compelled* to what is Good.” We may, perhaps, learn his Sentiments on this Subject, with greater Certainty and Precision, from *his own Words*, largely cited by Archbishop *Usher* (y).

“ Our Lord Himself,” says *Florus*, “ plainly shews,
 “ that the very first Commencement of what Good we
 “ have, is not of Ourselves, but of HIM: *Ye have not*
 “ *chosen Me, but I have chosen You*; John xv. 16. Thus
 “ likewise the Apostle speaks to Believers: *He who hath*
 “ *BEGUN a good Work in you, will PERFECT it even unto*
 “ *the Day of Christ*: Phil. i. 6. And again; *Unto You it*
 “ *is GIVEN, in Christ's Behalf, not only to BELIEVE, but*
 “ *also to suffer for his Sake*: Phil. i. 29. — The Blessed
 “ Apostle, St *John*, affirms, *Not that WE loved God, but*
 “ *that HE loved us, and gave his Son to be the Propitiation*
 “ *for*

(x) *Vossii Histor. Pelagian.* p. 745.

(y) *Gottsch. Hist. Cap. 10 per totum.*

“ *for our Sins*: 1 John iv. 10. And again, a blessed
 “ Apostle says, *Let us run, with Patience, the Race that is*
 “ *set before us, looking unto Jesus the AUTHOR and the*
 “ *FINISHER of our Faith*: Heb. xii. 2. If, therefore, we
 “ desire to be true Members of the Universal Church, let
 “ us faithfully PUT ALL TO THE ACCOUNT OF GRACE.
 “ — — The Lord chuseth His Saints; not they Him.
 “ God Himself both *begins* and *accomplishes* what is good,
 “ in His Believers. He FIRST loves his Saints, in order
 “ that They may also love Him.—Man has not, of him-
 “ self, a Will to That which is good: neither has he, of
 “ himself, the Power to perform a good Work. Both
 “ One and the Other are received from HIM, of whom
 “ the Apostle saith, *It is God that worketh in us, both to will*
 “ *and to do, of His own good Pleasure*. Through His
 “ Mercy, He Himself is BEFORE-HAND with the Will of
 “ Man: as saith the Psalmist; *My God will PREVENT me*
 “ *with His Goodness*. He Himself inspires Man with the
 “ Grace of thinking rightly: according to That of the
 “ Apostle; *Not that we are, of ourselves, sufficient to think*
 “ *ANY Thing, as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God*.
 “ He is, Himself, the Cause of our having a good Will.
 “ He is, Himself, the Cause of our desiring and accom-
 “ plishing what is Holy. — — And He not only worketh
 “ these Things, at present, in His Elect; but He hath
 “ also, before the Formation of the World, PREDESTI-
 “ NATED them, by His GRACE, that they should be
 “ holy and blameless before Him: *Eph. i. 4*. Whoever,
 “ then, does not believe that this grand and most effica-
 “ cious Cause” [viz. God’s *Predestination* and *Grace*]
 “ PRECEDES our Will, *in order that we MAY will and*
 “ *do that which is right*; doth manifestly oppose the
 “ Truth, and stands convicted of Pelagianism (z).” It
 is true, that, in these Passages, *Florus* nervously asserts
 the

(z) *Florus Magist.* apud *Usser.* u. s. p. 143—146.

the *Efficacy* of Divine Influence : but says nothing about forcible *Compulsion*. And, indeed, there was no Reason why he should. The Operation of Grace renders itself *effectual*, without offering the least *Violence* to the Human Mind. Open a blind Man's Eyes to see the Sun, and he will need no *Compulsion* to make him admire it.—Suppose there was a Person, to whose ceaseless Bounty you owed every Comfort you enjoy, but of whom, notwithstanding, you never had so much as the Sight. Should that Person, in Process of Time, favor you with a Visit ; would you stand in need of *Compulsion*, to make you speak to him ? must you be *dragged* by the Hair of your Head, into his Presence ? No. You would, at once, fly to him, and bid him welcome. You would, *freely*, yet *irresistably* (such is the sweetly captivating Power of Gratitude,) thank him, and give him your best Accommodations, and wish your best were better for his Sake. Similar is the *free*, though *necessary*, tendency of an enlightened Soul to God and Christ. Calvinism disclaims all *Compulsion* (a), properly

(a) According to Mr LOCKE, *Compulsion* may then be said to take place, “ When the Beginning or Continuation of any Action “ is contrary to the *Preference* of the Mind.” (See his *Essay on Understanding*, Book 2. Ch. 21. Sect. 13.) If, therefore, this acute Logician was in the right ; it will follow, That, in the supernatural Agency of Grace on the Heart, *Compulsion* is quite excluded, be that Agency ever so effectual : since, the *more* effectually it is supposed to operate, the *more* certainly it must engage the “ *Preference* of the Mind.” And, WHERE the *Preference* of the Mind is thus engaged, won over, and secured, (the accomplishing of which is the very Business of Grace, *Psal.* cx. 3) THERE *Compulsion* can have no manner of Footing or Existence.

Another Remark, of Mr *Locke's*, deserves to be well considered : “ VOLUNTARY IS NOT OPPOSED TO NECESSARY, BUT “ TO INVOLUNTARY. For a Man may *prefer* what he “ can do, to what he cannot do :” [he may, for Instance. *prefer*] “ the State he is in, to its Absence or Change, though

properly so called. It pleads only for that victorious, conciliating *Efficacy*, which is inseparable from the Grace of Divine Attraction: and acknowledges no other Energy, but That to which the Apostle sets his *comprobatum est*, where he says, *The LOVE of Christ CONSTRAINETH us*.

SECTION IX.

The Judgment of some Eminent Persons, PRIOR to the Reformation, continued.

IF we carry down our Enquiries, to the Century preceding the Reformation, we shall find that Period illuminated by several very distinguished Advocates for the Doctrines of free and sovereign Grace, as now held by those who are since called (b) Calvinists.

V. John

“ NECESSITY has made it in itself UNALTERABLE.” *Ibid.* Sect. 11. I am apt to think, that the preceding Citations from *Locke* will make Mr *Sellon stare*. I wish the Citation next ensuing may not make him *swear*. If the “ Exotic ” can get any body to lend him *Locke’s Essay*, he will find in the 14th Section of the Chapter above referred to, the following Observations: “ Whether Man’s “ *Will be free, or no,* ” is “ an unreasonable, because unintelligible Question.—It is as insignificant, to ask, *Whether Man’s “ WILL be FREE; as to ask, Whether his Sleep be swift, or his “ Virtue square. LIBERTY BEING AS LITTLE APPLICABLE TO “ THE WILL, as swiftness of Motion is to Sleep, or Squareness to “ Virtue.* ”—How far such Concessions, as these, are reconcilable with some Parts of that great Man’s *Theological System*; or even with some of his own favorite *Metaphysical Principles*; I leave to the Determination of more competent Readers.

(b) It seems, we are, originally, indebted to the Church of *Rome*, for this Appellation. “ CALVINISTS: A Name GIVEN “ BY PAPISTS to the Reformed of France, Switzerland, Germany, “ and the Low-Countries.” *Great Hist. Dict.*

V. *John Hufs*, the well-known *Bohemian* Martyr, was converted to the Truth of the Gospel, next under God, by reading the Works of our renowned Countryman *John Wickliff*. He took his Batchelor of Arts' Degree in the University of *Prague*, A. D. 1393. and was eminent for Learning (as Learning then went), but more so for the exemplary Sanctity of his Life (c). I need not relate the Perfidy of the Council of *Constance*, who condemned him to the Flames, in open Violation of the Safe-conduct which had been solemnly granted him by the Emperor *Sigismund*. Suffice it to observe, that this infamous Synod acted up to their own Maxim, of “*No Faith to be kept with Heretics* :” and that he was burned, A. D. 1415. His dying Prediction at the Stake, is, however, too remarkable to be omitted. “He behaved himself, at his Martyrdom, with a “wonderful Chearfulness; and seems to have had a Spirit “of Prophecy: for whereas *Hufs*, in the *Bohemian* “Tongue, signifies a *Goose*, he told them, *You now roast* “*a GOOSE*; but, after an Hundred Years, a *SWAN* shall “rise out of my *Ashes*. Which was fulfilled in *Luther*, “who, just an Hundred Years after *Hufs*’s Death, began “to appear in Opposition to the Pope (d).”

Among

(c) *Vir, ipsis fatentibus Adversariis, Doctrinâ illustris, Pietate conspicuus*. Wharton, in *App. ad Cavii Hist. Liter.* p. 76.

(d) *Hist. of Popery*, Vol. 2. p. 193.—Mr ROLT, in his *Lives of the Reformers* (p. 17, 18,) gives a more circumstantial Account of Dr *Hufs*’s Martyrdom and Prophecy. “Dr *Hufs*,” says that judicious Compiler, “heard his Sentence, without the least Emotion. He kneeled down, with his Eyes lifted toward Heaven, “and said, with all the Spirit of primitive Martyrdom, *May thy* “*infinite Mercy, O my God, pardon this Injustice of my Enemys*. “*Thou knowest the Injustice of my Accusations, how deformed with* “*Crimes I have been represented; how I have been oppressed by* “*worthless Witnesses and an unjust Condemnation*. Yet, O my God, “*Let the Mercy of thine, which no Tongue can express, prevail* “*with thee not to avenge my Wrongs*. The Bishops, appointed “by the Council, stript him of his priestly Garments, degraded

Among the Articles of pretended Heresy, which this excellent Man was arraigned and put to Death for maintaining, were the following (e).

“ *There*

“ him, and put a Mitre of Paper upon his Head, on which Devils were painted, with this Inscription, *A Ringleader of Heretics*. Our heroic Martyr received this mock - Mitre with a gallant air of unconcern, that seemed to give him Dignity, instead of Disgrace. A Serenity, a Joy, a Composure, appeared in his Looks, which indicated that his Soul had cut off many Stages of tedious Journey in her Way to the Point of eternal Joy and Peace.—The Bishops delivered *Huss* to the Emperor, who put him into the Hands of the Duke of *Bavaria*. His Books were burnt at the Gate of the Church, and he was led to the Sub-urbs to be burnt alive. When he came to the Place of Execution, he fell on his Knees, sang Portions of Psalms, looked stedfastly toward Heaven, and repeated these Words : *Into thy Hands, O Lord, do I commit my Spirit ; thou hast redeemed me, O most good and faithful God*. When the Chain was put about him at the Stake, he said, with a smiling Countenance, *My Lord Jesus Christ was bound with an harder Chain than this, for my Sake ; and why should I be ashamed of this old rusty one ?* When the Faggots were piled up to his very Neck, the Duke of *Bavaria* was officious enough to desire him to abjure. No, said *Huss* : *I never preached any Doctrine of an evil Tendency : and what I taught with my Lips, I now seal with my Blood*. He said, to the Executioner, *Are you going to burn a Goose ? in one Century, you will have a SWAN, whom you can neither roast nor boil*. If he was prophetic, he must have meant *Luther*, who had a *Swan* for his Arms. The Flames were then applied to the Faggots ; when the Martyr sang an Hymn, with so loud and cheerful a Voice, that he was heard through all the Cracklings of the Combustibles and the Noise of the Multitude. At last, his Voice was cut short, and he was consumed. The Duke of *Bavaria* ordered the Executioner to throw all the Martyr's Cloaths into the Flames : after which, his Ashes were carefully collected, and cast into the *Rhine*.”

(e) Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, Vol. I. p. 693.

“ *There is but one Holy, Universal, or Catholic Church,*
 “ *which is the Universal Company of ALL the PREDESTI-*
 “ *NATE. I do confess,*” said *Hufs*, “ *that this Propo-*
 “ *sition is mine; and [it] is confirmed by St Augustin upon*
 “ *St John.*”

“ *St Paul was NEVER any Member of the Devil, albeit*
 “ *that he committed and did certain Acts like unto the Acts of*
 “ *the malignant Church*” [i. e. *St Paul*, prior to his Con-
 version, acted like a *Reprobate*, though he was, secretly,
 and in Reality, one of God’s *Elect*]. “ *And likewise St*
 “ *Peter, who fell into an horrible Sin of Perjury, and Denial*
 “ *of his Master; it was by the PERMISSION of God, that he*
 “ *might the more firmly and stedfastly rise again and be con-*
 “ *firmed.*” To this Charge, *Hufs* replied, “ *I answer,*
 “ *according to St Austin, that it is expedient that the*
 “ *Elect and Predestinate should sin and offend (f).*”

“ *No Part or Member of the Church doth depart, or fall*
 “ *away, at any Time, from the Body: forsomuch as the Charity*
 “ *of PREDESTINATION, which is the Bond and Chain of*
 “ *the same, doth never fall.*” *Hufs* answers; “ *This Pro-*
 “ *position is thus placed in my Book: As the Reprobate of*
 “ *the Church procede out of the same, and yet are not as Parts*
 “ *or Members of the same; forsomuch as no Part or Member*
 “ *of the same doth FINALLY fall away: because that the*
 “ *Charity of PREDESTINATION, which is the Bond and*
 “ *Chain of the same, doth never fall away. This is proved*
 “ *by 1 Cor. xiii. and Rom. viii. All Things turn to good, to*
 “ *them that love God: Also, I am certain that neither Death*
 “ *nor Life can separate us from the Charity and Love of God,*
 “ *as it is more at large in the Book.*”

Another

(f) Let not the Reader imagine, that I approve of the unguarded Manner, in which Mr *Hufs* here expresses himself. I only give his Answer, faithfully, as I find it. His Meaning, I doubt not, was this: that, by the incomprehensible Alchymy of God’s infinite Wisdom, even Moral Evil itself shall be finally over-ruled to Good.

Another Article, objected against him, was, his being of Opinion that “*The PREDESTINATE, although he be not in the State of Grace according to present Justice, yet is he ALWAYS a Member of the Universal Church.*” He answers: “Thus it is in the Book, about the Beginning of the Fifth Chapter, where it is declared, that *There be divers Manners or Sorts of being in the Church: for there are some in the Church, according to the mis-shapen Faith; and other some according to PREDESTINATION: as Christians predestinate, now in Sin, SHALL RETURN AGAIN unto Grace.*” The good Man added: “*Predestination doth make a Man a Member of the Universal Church; the which [i.e. Predestination] is a Preparation of GRACE for the present, and of GLORY to come: and not any Degree of*” [outward] “*Dignity, neither Election of Man*” [or, one Man’s Designation of another to some Office or Station], “*neither any sensible Sign*” [i. e. *Predestination* does not barely extend to the outward Signs, or Means of Grace: but includes something more and higher]: “For the Traytor *Judas Iscariot*, notwithstanding Christ’s Election” [or Appointment of him to the Apostleship], “and the temporal Graces which were given him for his Office of Apostleship, and that he was *reputed and counted of Men* a true Apostle of Jesus Christ; yet was he no true Disciple, but a *Wolf* covered in a Sheep’s Skin, as St *Augustin* saith.”

“*A REPROBATE Man is NEVER a Member of the Holy Church.* — I answer, It is in my Book, with sufficient long Probation out of the xxvith Psalm, and out of the vth Chapter to the *Ephesians*: and also by St *Bernard*’s saying, *The Church of Jesus Christ is MORE plainly and evidently HIS BODY, than the Body which He delivered for us to Death.* I have also written, in the fifth Chapter of my Book, that *The holy Church*” [i. e. the outward, visible Church of Professing Christians, here on Earth] “*is the Barn of the Lord, in the which are both good and evil,*
“ *predestinate*

“ *predestinate and reprobate : the Good being as the good Corn,
 “ or Grain ; and the Evil, as the Chaff. And thereunto is
 “ added the Exposition of St Austin.”*

“ *Judas was NEVER a true Disciple of Jesus Christ. — I
 “ answer, and I do confess the same.—They came out from
 “ amongst us, but they were none of us. — He knew, from
 “ the Beginning, who they were that believed not, and who
 “ should betray Him. And therefore I say unto you, that none
 “ COMETH unto Me, except it be GIVEN him of my Father.”*

Such were some of the Allegations, brought against this Holy Man by the Council of *Constance*; and such were his Answers, when he stood on his public Trial, as a Lilly among Thorns, or as a Sheep in the midst of Wolves. How easy is it for *me* to write in Defence of these inestimable Truths, which (through the Goodness of Divine Providence) have now in *our* happy Land, the Sanction of national Establishment ! But with what invincible Strength of Grace was this adamantin Saint endued, who bore his explicit, unshaken Testimony to the Faith, in the Presence and Hearing of its worst Foes, armed with all the terrific Powers of this World !

Prior to his Execution, Mr *Huss* made his solemn *Appeal* to God, from the Judgment of the Pope and Council. In this *Appeal* (*g*) (the Whole of which would well repay the Reader's Perusal,) he again repetes his assured Faith in the Doctrine of *Election* ; where he celebrates the Willingness with which Christ vouchsafed, “ *By the most bitter and ignominious Death, to REDEEM the CHILDREN*
 “ *OF GOD, CHOSEN BEFORE THE FOUNDATION OF*
 “ *THE WORLD, from everlasting Damnation.*”

Much farther Proof might be given, of *Huss's* Calvinism. Enough, however, has been produced. Yet will I request my Reader's patient Attention to the Passage that follows. He was accused of having affirmed, that
 “ *Christ doth more love a predestinate Man, being sinful ;*

“*than any Reprobate, in what Grace possible soever he be (b).*”
 To which, his Reply was: “My Words are in the fourth
 “Chapter of my Book, entitled, *Of the Church*. And
 “it is evident, that God *doth* love the *predestinate* being
 “sinful” [i. e. the Elect, even prior to their Conversion];
 “than any *Reprobate*, in what [seeming] Grace soever
 “he be for the Time: forasmuch as he [i. e. God] wil-
 “leth that the *Predestinate* shall have perpetual Blessed-
 “ness, and the *Reprobate* to have eternal Fire.—The
 “*Prædestinate* cannot fall from Grace: for they have a
 “*certain, radical* Grace ROOTED in them, although they
 “[may] be deprived of the *abundant* Grace for a Time (i).”

As to what he says above, concerning the *Love* which God bears to the *Predestinate*, even while *sinful*; though it be, perhaps, rather incautiously phrased, it still is, in effect, affirming no more than the Apostle has affirmed before him: *God, who is rich in Mercy, for the GREAT LOVE WHEREWITH HE LOVED US EVEN WHEN WE WERE DEAD IN SINS, hath quickened us together with Christ. By GRACE ye are saved.* Eph. ii. 4, 5.

It is very observable, that the Popish Council of *Constance* charged *Huss* with being a *Fatalist* (k): and opposed the

(b) *Fox*, Ibid. p. 700.

(i) *F. x*, Ibid.

(k) See a curious Tract, inserted into the *Fasciculus Rerum fugiendarum & expetendarum*, entitled, *Rationes & Motiva ac Reprobationes Articulorum WICLEFI, & sequacis ipsius JOHANNIS HUS, in Concilio Constantiensi damnatorum*. By perusing the *Reasons*, which the Council of *Constance* there assign, for their Rejection and Condemnation of *Huss* and his Doctrines; the Reader will immediately see, from what Magazine *Arminianism* pilfers its Arguments. By Way of Specimen, take the following Extract. The Papists, in the above Council, charged the Martyr, and not untruly, with holding, That *Omnia de Necessitate absoluta eveniunt*. On which Position, they thus descant: *Ista Propositio est falsa & erronea: quia ex ipsa sequitur, 1. superflua esse Præcepta*

the Doctrine of *Predestination*, which he held and taught by the same identical Cavils which have been, since, so greedily licked up, and so plentifully disgorged, by Messrs. *Wesley*, *Sellon*, and others of that Fraternity. These Gentlemen blush not to whet their Bills on the Door-posts of *Papery* itself, rather than not be enabled to peck at those Protestant Doctrines, to which they (I will not say, for divers *good*, but) for divers *weighty* Causes, have, themselves, most solemnly, though most hypocritically, subscribed.

Next after the Testimony of *John Huss*, naturally follows that of his intimate Friend and faithful Fellow-martyr, *Jerom of Prague*. As they were united, in their Lives, by the most sacred Ties of Religious and Learntd Regard, so in their Deaths they were almost undivided: for they were both executed within a Twelvemonth of each other.

VI. *Jerom*, surnamed, of *Prague*, from the Place of his Nativity; was a Lay Gentleman, of competent Fortune, and of very extraordinary Learning. Having taken his Master of Arts Degree, in the University of his Native City, he visited most of the Countries in *Europe*. In the Course of this Tour, the Universities of *Paris*, *Cologne*, and *Heidelberg*, successively complimented him with the same

Præcepta, Prohibitiones, Leges, Consilia, & Monitiones. 2. *Sequitur, Obliquitates, Deformatates, & Peccata tolli. Sequitur, 3, omnem Actum laudabilem, virtuosum, meritorium, etiam Præmium & Liberum Arbitrium, excludi.* [4] *Quia non laudamur, nec vituperamur, meremur, aut præmiamur, nisi de iis quæ sunt in Potestate nostrâ ad utramque partem contradictionis flexibilia.* Fascic. Vol. 1. p. 288. i. e. “if,” say the *Romish* Confessors, “all things
“come to pass by an absolute Necessity, then, 1. All *Precepts* and
“*Prohibitions* are vain. 2. The very nature of *Sin* is taken away.
“There can, 3. be no such Thing as a *laudable, virtuous, me-*
“*ritorous*, or even *rewardable* Action. Consequently, 4. we
“can neither be *praised*, nor *blamed*, we can neither *merit* by,
“nor be *rewarded* for, any Thing we do.” So spake the *Papish*
Doctors, in the Year 1415. And so speak the *Arminians*, in
the Year 1771.

same Degree which he had taken at *Prague*. The Writers of the Biographical Dictionary (*l*) seem to think it probable, that the University of *Oxford* likewise favored him with the same Mark of Respect. It is, however, certain, that, during his Progress, he was over in *England*; “where he copied out the Books of *Wickliffe*, and returned “with them to *Prague* (*m*).”

In proving the Calvinism of Dr *John Hufs*, I have proved the Calvinism of his Brother in the Faith, the learned and pious *Jerom*. “I knew him,” said *Jerom*, speaking of *Hufs*, “to be a just and TRUE Preacher of the Holy Gospel: and WHATSOEVER THINGS Mr *Hufs* and *Wickliffe* have HELD OR WRITTEN, I will affirm, even unto “Death, that they were holy and blessed Men (*n*).” In Pursuance of this Declaration, delivered before a full Meeting of the Council of *Constance*, he was condemned to death: and, in the very Sentence of Condemnation, the Council alledged *this* Reason, among others, why they proceeded against him to the ultimate Severity, viz. because he had “affirmed, that he *never*, at *any* Time, had “read any *Errors* or *Heresy* in the Books and Treatises “of the said *Wickliffe* and *Hufs*, and because the said *Jerom* “is an Adherent and MAINTAINER of the said *Wickliffe* “and *Hufs* and THEIR ERRORS, and both is and hath “been a FAVORER of them (*o*).” As he suffered for the same blessed Cause, so he suffered on the same spot of Ground where his Friend *Hufs* had been executed: and his Persecutors gave the strongest Proofs they were able of their Meanness and Malice, by fixing him to a Stake which had been shaped into an Image, resembling his Brother-Martyr, who had so lately and so gloriously set his Life as a Seal to the Truth in that Place (*p*). Yet, though

(*l*) Vol. 7. p. 39.

(*m*) *Roh's* Lives of the Reformers, p. 19.

(*n*) See *Fox's* Acts and Monuments, Vol. 1. p. 722.

(*o*) *Ibid.* p. 723.

(*p*) See *Fox*, *ibid.* p. 724.

though no Circumstance was omitted, which might tend to shake his Fortitude, and to disconcert him in his last Moments; “he suffered with all the Magnanimity of *Hufs*. He embraced the Stake, to which he was fastened with the peculiar Malice of wet Cords. When the Executioner went behind him, to set Fire to the Pile, *Come here, said JEROM, and kindle it before my Eyes; for if I dreaded such a Sight, I should never have come to this Place, when I had a free Opportunity of escaping.* The Fire was kindled, and he then sung an Hymn, which was soon finished by the incircling Flames (*q*).”

VII. *John de Wesaliâ* was another eminent Witness for the Doctrines of Grace, and suffered much for his Adherence to them. “He was,” says *Monfieur Bayle*, “a Doctor of Divinity; and was very ill treated by the Inquisition in Germany, for having taught some Doctrines which disgusted the Catholics (*r*).” Another Writer informs us, more particularly, WHAT those Doctrines were, which gave the Church of Rome so much disgust. *Diether Isenburgh*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, convened an Assembly of Popish Doctors, A. D. 1479, to sit in Judgment on this pretended Heretic, who was then, on Account of his Religious Principles, a Prisoner in a Convent of that City. A long Catalogue of Articles was laid to his Charge: of which, the following were some.

“God hath, from everlasting, written a Book, wherein He hath inscribed ALL HIS ELECT: and whosoever is NOT already written there, will NEVER be written there at all.

“Moreover, he that is written therein, will NEVER BE BLOTTED OUT of it.

“The Elect are saved by the alone GRACE of God: And what Man soever God willeth to save, by enduing him with Grace, if all the Priests in the World were desirous to damn and excommunicate that Man, he would still be saved.

Whom-

(*q*) *Rolt*, page 21.

(*r*) *Bayle's Hist. & Crit. Dict.* Vol. 5. p. 540.

“ *Whomsoever, likewise, God willeth to condemn, if the whole
 “ Clan of Pope, Priests, and others, were desirous of saving
 “ that Man, he still condemned would be.*

“ *If there had never been any Pope in the World, they,
 “ who are saved, would have been saved notwithstanding.*

“ *They, who undertake Pilgrimages to Rome, are Fools.*

“ *I will not look on any Thing as sinful, which the Scrip-
 “ ture does not call so.*

“ *I despise the Pope, his Church, and his Councils. But
 “ I love Christ. Let the Word of CHRIST dwell in us abun-
 “ dantly.*

“ *It is a difficult Thing to be a [true] Christian (s).”*

The Church of *Rome* took fire at these Propositions. The Affair was carried before the Tribunal of the Inquisition. In the Course of his Examination, another heinous Heresy was laid to his Charge: viz. that he had given it as his Opinion, that St Paul contributed nothing toward his own Conversion by the Help of his own Free-will (t). A
 Man

(s) “Deus, ab æterno, condidit Librum, in quem scripsit omnes suos Electos. Quicumque autem in eo non est scriptus, nunquam inscribetur in ipsum in æternum. Et qui in eo scriptus est, nunquam ex eo delebitur.

“ Sola Dei Gratia salvantur Electi. Et quem Deus vult salvare, donando sibi Gratiam, si omnes sacerdotes vellent illum damnare aut excommunicare, adhuc salvaretur ille. Et quem Deus vult damnare, si omnes Presbyteri, Papa, & alii, vellent hunc salvare, adhuc iste damneretur.

“ Si nullus unquam Papa fuisset, adhuc salvati fuissent hi qui salvati sunt.

“ Peregrinantes *Romam* fatui sunt.

“ Quæcunque non dicuntur esse Peccata in sacra scriptura, ea non pro peccatis habeo.

“ Contemno Papam, Ecclesiam, & Consilia.

“ Res est difficilis esse Christianum.”

Fascic: Rerum, Vol. 1. p. 325, 326.

(t) “Opinatur quod *Beatus Paulus, in sua Conversione, nihil fecit suo Libero Arbitrio pro sua Conversione.*” Ibid. p. 331.

Man need but look into the 9th Chapter of the *Acts*, to be fully convinced that Dr *Wesalia* was in the right.—How exactly by the Bye, does Mr *Sellon* jump with these Romish Inquisitors, who has declared, *totidem verbis*, that, in converting St *Paul*, “*The Lord did WAIT for St Paul’s COMPLIANCE and IMPROVEMENTS !*” i. e. at the very Time when God struck *Saul* to the Earth, he *waited* for *Saul’s consent* to fall ! Had the Almighty *waited* for the *Compliance* of him who was *breathing out Threats and Slaughters* against the Gospel, He might have waited long enough, and waited for nothing at last.

Wesalia, it seems, was extremely old and infirm, when he underwent the above Inquisitorial Examination. Being, says Mr *Bayle*, “broken by Age and Diseases, he was “not able to express his Thoughts before such a dreadful Tribunal :” Hence proceeded the Retraction, into which he was trepanned. It is plain, that his Retraction was not considered as sincere, from his being condemned to perpetual Confinement and Penance “in a “Monastery of the Augustins ; where he died soon after (u).”

SECTION X.

*The Judgment of several Eminent Persons, who
flourished in ENGLAND, antecedently
to the Reformation.*

FROM among the antient Worthies, Natives of our own Land, and remarkable for having been led into an Acquaintance with the distinguishing Doctrines of the Gospel ; *Bede, Grossthead, Wickliff, Bradwardin*, and *Lord Cobham*, may be selected, as none of the least conspicuous. If our Island be disgraced with having given Birth to *Pelagius*, she is also honored with having been the Mother of
such

(u) *Bayle*, u. l. p. 542.

fuch Sons, as have cut up Pelagianism, both Root and Branch.

I. BEDA, or BEDE, whom all succeeding Ages have concurred to sur-name *The Venerable*; was born A. D. 672, or 673, in the County of *Durham*, somewhere near the Mouth of the *Tine* (x). Dr *Fuller* styles him “the profoundest Scholar in that Age, for Latin, Greek, Philosophy, History, Divinity, and Mathematics:” and adds, that “Homilies of his making were read, during his Life-time, in the Christian Churches: a Dignity afforded to him alone (y).” He died A. D. 734 (z). An Incident, which occurred in his last Moments, is of so singular a nature, that I cannot help giving it to the Reader. “One of the last Things he did, was the translating of St *John’s* Gospel into *English*. When Death seized on him, one of his devout Scholars, whom he used for his Secretary or Amanuensis, complained, *My beloved Master, there remains yet one Sentence unwritten.—“ Write it then quickly,*” replied BEDE: and summoning all his Spirits together (like the last Blaze of a Candle going out,) he indited it, and expired.” Thus, adds the Historian, “God’s children are Immortal, while their Father hath any Thing for them to do on Earth: and Death, that *Beast*, cannot overcome and kill them, till they have first finished their Testimony, Rev. ii. 7. which done, like Silk-worms, they willingly die, when their Web is ended, and are comfortably entombed in their own Endeavors (a).”

I should offer an Insult even to the most unknowing Reader, were I to observe, that the very name of *Arminius* was unheard of for many Centuries after this early Period. But if *Arminius* himself was unborn, the *Doctrines*, of which

(x) *Dupin’s Eccles. Writ.* Vol. 6. p. 89.

(y) *Church Hist.* Cent. 8. p. 98.

(z) *Idem. Worthies of England*, Part 1. p. 292.

(a) *Fuller’s Church Hist.* u. s. p. 99.

which that Dutch Schismatic was the Reviver and the Varnisher, had, about the Beginning of the fifth Century, been broached by *Pelagius*, who was the Arminius of that Age. With what Horror and Detestation our Learned and Pious Anglo-Saxon reviewed that Heretic and his Heresies, appears from what he says of both, in the Course of his *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation* (b). He goes even so far, as to style the Free-will System, “The Pelagian Plague (c).”

Archbishop *Usher*, in his *History of the Predestinarian Controversy*, already referred to so often, cites some of *Pelagius's* Propositions, together with *Beda's* Refutations of them, in the very Words of each Writer. The following Extract will enable the Reader to form an exact Judgment of *Beda's* Calvinism.

“Whereas *Pelagius* says, that we are not impelled to Evil by the corruption of our Nature, seeing we do neither Good nor Evil without the compliance of our own Will; he herein contradicts the Apostle, who affirms, *I know, that in me, that is, in my Flesh, dwelleth no good Thing*, Rom. 7.—Moreover, when *Pelagius* asserts that we are at Liberty to do one Thing always” [i. e. to do always what is good, if it be not our own Fault,] “seeing we are always able to do both one and the other” [i. e. in *Pelagius's* Opinion, Free-will has a Power of Indifference to Good or Evil; to either of which it sovereignly inclines, according to its own independent Determination: to this *Beda* replies] “He herein contradicts the Prophet, who, humbly

(b) Particularly in *Lib. 1. Cap. 10.* which chapter is entitled, “*Ut, Arcadio regnante, Pelagius, Brito, contra Gratiam Dei superba Bella suscepit.*” And *Cap. 17.* entitled, “*Ut Germanus Episcopus, cum Lupo, Britanniam navigans, & primo Maris, postmodum Pelagianorum, Tempestatem, Divina Virtute, sedaverit.*”—p. 12. and 18.—Edit. *Antwerp. 1550.*

(c) “*Renascentibus Virgultis Pelagianæ pestis, Germanus cum Severo Britanniam reversus, &c.*” Ibid. *Lib. 1. Cap. 21. p. 25.*

bly addressing himself to God, saith, *I know, O Lord, that a Man's Way is NOT his own; it is NOT in Man that walketh, to direct his own Steps*: Jer. x. 23. Nay, *Pelagius* maketh himself greater than the Apostle, who said, *With my Mind, I myself serve the Law of God; but, with my Flesh, the Law of Sin*: Rom. vii. 25 (d)."

On one Hand, *Pelagius* had affirmed, "That, in the Expulsion of *Adam* from Paradise, and in the Assumption of *Enoch* into Heaven, God himself had given a Demonstration of Man's Free-will: since *Adam* would not have merited Punishment at the Hand of a just God, nor would *Enoch* have deserved to be elected, unless each of them had it in his power to act the reverse of what they did. In the very same manner, adds *Pelagius*, we must judge concerning the two Brothers, *Cain* and *Abel*; and concerning the Twins, *Esau* and *Jacob*." To this *Beda* opposes the following simple, strong, scriptural Answer: "*Pelagius* here runs counter to the Apostle, whose Decision is, *The Children being not yet born, neither having done good nor evil, that the PURPOSE of God, according to ELECTION, might stand, NOT OF WORKS, but of HIM that calleth, it was said, The Elder shall serve the Younger: as it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated*. Rom. ix. 11—13 (e)."

Pelagius

(d) "Quod dicit [*Pelagius*], *Nos Vitio Naturæ ad Malum non impelli, qui nec Bonum, sine voluntate, nec Malum, facimus; repugnat Apostolo, dicenti, Scio quia non habitat in me, hoc est in carne mea, bonum: Rom. vii. 18.—Quod dicit, Liberum nobis esse unum semper agere, cum semper utrumque possumus; contradicit Prophetæ, qui Deo supplex loquitur, dicens, Scio, Domine, quia non sit Hominis Via ejus; nec viri est, ut ambulet & dirigat Gressus suos: Jer. x. 23. sed & Apostolo majorem se facit qui dixit, Ego igitur ipse Mente, servio Legi Dei; Carne autem, Legi Peccati: Rom. vii. 25.*" *BEDA*, apud *Usser. Gottesch.* p. 6, 7.

(e) "*PELAGIUS: Adam de Paradiso ejicitur; Enoch de Mundo rapitur. In Utroque, Dominus Libertatem Arbitrii ostendit. Non enim*

Pelagius had asserted, That “ The just GOD could
 “ never command us to do any Thing impossible; nor
 “ can the merciful GOD condemn a Man for doing what he
 “ could not avoid.”—*Beda* replies, “ The former Propo-
 “ sition is true, if spoken with Reference to that Succour,
 “ which we derive from HIM, to whom the Universal
 “ Church thus prays, *Lead THOU me forth in the Path of*
 “ *thy Commandments*: Psalm cxix. 35. But, if a Man trust
 “ to his own Powers, he is refuted by that most true Say-
 “ ing of Christ, *Without Me ye can do nothing*: John xv. 5.
 “ —And whereas *Pelagius* declares, that *He who is gra-*
 “ *cious will not condemn a Man for doing what he could not*
 “ *avoid*; he, in this, flatly opposes the Assertion of the
 “ same gracious Redeemer and just Judge: who avers,
 “ that, except a Man, even Infants themselves included, be
 “ born again, of Water and the Spirit, he cannot see the King-
 “ dom of God, John iii. 5. (f)”

“ *enim a justo Deo, aut ille puniri meruisset, aut hic eligi, nisi*
 “ *uterque utrunque potuisset. Hoc de Cain & Abel Fratribus, hoc*
 “ *etiam de Esau & Jacob Geminis, intelligendum est.* — *BEDA*:
 “ Contradicit Apostolo, qui, de eisdem loquens, ait, *Cum enim,*
 “ *necdum nati fuissent, &c.*” Apud *Uffer*. Ibid. p. 7.

(f) “*PELAGIUS: Nec impossibile aliquid potuit imperare, qui*
 “ *justus est; nec damnaturus est Hominem pro eo quod vitare non po-*
 “ *tuit, qui pius est.*—*BEDA*: Quòd dicit, *Dominum non impossibile*
 “ *aliquid præcepisse, qui justus est*; verum profectò dicit, si ad ejus
 “ respicit Auxilium, cui catholica Vox supplicat, *Deduc me in*
 “ *Semitâ Mandatorum tuorum*, Psal. cxix. 35. Si verò Viribus Ani-
 “ mi sui fidit, refellit eum Veridica ejusdem justî Conditoris Sen-
 “ tentia, quâ dicit, *sine Me nihil potestis facere*: Johan. xv. 5.—
 “ Quòd dicit, *Eum, qui pius est, non damnaturum esse Hominem,*
 “ *pro eo quod vitare non potuit*; contradicit ejusdem pii Redemp-
 “ toris & justî Judicis Sententiæ, quâ, etiam de parvulis, ait, *Nisi*
 “ *quis renatus fuerit ex Aquâ & Spiritu, non potest videre Regnum*
 “ *Dei.*” Apud *Uffer*. u. s. p. 8.

II. ROBERT GROSTHEAD, born at *Stradbrook*, in *Suffolk*; was made Bishop of *Lincoln*, A. D. 1235 (g). Mr *Camden* terms him, “a much better Scholar and Linguist, than could be expected from the Age he lived in: an awful Reprover of the Pope, a Monitor to the King, a Lover of Truth, a Corrector of Prelates, an Instructor of the Clergy, a Maintainer of Scholars, a Preacher to the People, a diligent Searcher of the Scripture, and a Mallet to the *Romanists* (b).”

This great Luminary was translated to Heaven, *October* 9, 1253. Few Ecclesiastics make so bright a Figure in the Annals of their Country. “He was,” says *Ropin*, “a Prelate of Resolution and Courage, neither to be gained by Court-Favors, nor to be frightened by the Pope’s Menaces. Wholly intent on following what appeared to him reasonable and just, he little regarded the Circumstances of the Times, or the Quality of Persons: but equally opposed the King’s Will, and the Pope’s Pleasure, according as it happened. He could not see, without Indignation and Concern, the best Preferments in the Kingdom bestowed on *Italians*, who
“neither

(g) Vide *Cav. Hist. Liter. I.* 716. — necnon *Godwinum, De Præfulib. Angliæ*, p. 289. Edit. *Cantabr.* 1743. Fol.

(b) *Britannia*, Vol. 1. Col. 565.—Edit. 1722.—Part of Bishop *Grosthead*’s character, as drawn by *Camden*, is given in the Words of *Matthew Paris*. The whole Portrait is worthy of being seen at full Length. “Fuit ille [i. e. *Grosthead*] Domini Papæ & Regis Redargutor manifestus, Prælatorum Corrector, Monachorum Corrector, Presbyterorum Director, Clericorum Instructor, Scholarium Sustentator, Populi Prædicator, incontinentium Persecutor, Scripturarum sedulus Persecutor diversarum, Romanorum Malleus & Contemptor. In Mensâ Refectionis corporalis dapnifilis, copiosus, & civilis, hilaris & affabilis: in Mensâ verò Spirituali devotus, lachrymosus, & contritus: in officio pontificali sedulus, venerabilis, et infatigabilis.” *Mat. Paris.* apud *Godwinum*, u. s. p. 291.

“ neither resided on their Benefices, nor understood *English*.
 “ Refusing to institute an *Italian* to one of the best Livings
 “ of his Diocese, he was presently after suspended: but,
 “ regardless of the Censure, he continued his Episcopal
 “ Functions. He even refused, at that very Time, to
 “ admit of new Provisions from the Pope in Favor of
 “ other Italians, declaring, that *To entrust the Cure of*
 “ *Souls to such Pastors, was to act in the Name of the Devil,*
 “ *rather than by the Authority of GOD.* Soon after, *Gr^h*
 “ *head* touched the Pope in a very sensible Part, by com-
 “ puting the yearly (i) Sums, drawn, by the Beneficed
 “ *Italians*, out of England. *Innocent IV.* who then sat in
 “ the Papal Chair, sent him a menacing Letter, which
 “ would have frightened any but Him. *Grosthead* re-
 “ turned a very bold Answer: which put *Innocent* into a
 “ terrible Rage. *What!* said the Pope, *has this old*
 “ *Dotard* the Confidence to censure MY Conduct? By St Peter
 “ and St Paul, I will make him such an Example, that the
 “ *World* shall stand amazed at his Punishment. For is not
 “ his Sovereign, the King of England, Our Vassal? Nay,
 “ is he not Our Slave? It is but, therefore, signifying Our
 “ Pleasure to the English Court, and this antiquated Prelate
 “ will be immediately imprisoned, and put to what further
 “ Disgrace We shall think fit. The Annals of Lanercost
 “ inform us, that the Bishop was Excommunicated, a little
 “ before his Death: but He, without regarding the Cen-
 “ sure, appealed to the Court of Heaven. Several His-
 “ torians add, that *Innocent* moved in the Conclave, to
 “ have the Body of *Grosthead* taken up and buried in the
 “ High-Way: but to this the Cardinals would not con-
 “ sent. Be this as it will, if he was Excommunicated,
 “ he paid no Attention to it, but continued to discharge

(i) These Sums, remitted to beneficed Foreigners, amounted,
 in the Year 1252, to *Seventy Thousand Marks*: while the King's
 Revenue hardly rose to *twenty Thousand*.—See FULLER'S *Church*
Hist. Book 3. p. 65.

“ his Functions. Neither were the Clergy of his Diocese
 “ more scrupulous than their Bishop: for they obeyed
 “ him until the Day of his Death (k).”

It was not without much imaginary Reason, that the Pope was so violently exasperated against *Grofthead*: who might well stand, in his Holiness's Books, for a *Rebel* and an *Heretic* (l). Of his *Rebellions*, some Account has been now given. Of his *Herefy* take the following Passage for a Sample.

“ GRACE is that *Good Pleasure of God, whereby He*
 “ *willeth to GIVE us what we have NOT DESERVED, in*
 “ *Order to OUR Benefit, not to HIS.* It is manifest, there-
 “ fore, that all the Good which is within us, whether it
 “ be natural, or freely conferred afterwards, procedes
 “ from the Grace of God: for there is no good Thing,
 “ of which His Will is not the Author; and what He
 “ wills, is done. He Himself *averts* our Will from Evil,
 “ and *converts* our Will to Good, and makes our Will to
 “ *persevere* in that Good. — — — — A Will to Good,
 “ whereby Man becomes Conformed to the Will of God,
 “ is

(k) *Rapin's Hist. of Engl.* Vol. 3. p. 214—218.

(l) *Grofthead* also passed, among some of the Vulgar, for a *Magician*: only because he was well skilled in *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and had a Bias to the Study of *Astronomy*. Hence those old Verses, written in the Reign of *Richard II.*

For of the greet Clerk Grostest
 I red, how redy that he was
 Upon Clergie an hede of brasse
 to make, and forge it, for to tell
 of such Things as befell.
 And Seven Peres bylynels
 he layd: but, for the Lacknesse
 of half a minute of an Houre,
 fro first that he began Labour,
 he lost all that he had doc.

Vide *Hist. & Antiqu. Univ. Oxon.* L. 1. p. 82.

“ is a Grace freely given : for the Divine Will is Grace.
 “ And Grace is then said to be infused, when the *Divine*
 “ Will begins to operate on *our* Will (m).”

The *Humility* of this great and good Man is evident from what he says in one of his Epistles, written while he was Arch-deacon of *Leicester*. “ Nothing that occurs in
 “ your Letters, ought to give me more Pain, than your
 “ styling me, a Person *invested with Authority, and endued*
 “ *with Brightness of Knowledge*. So far am I from being
 “ of your Opinion, that I feel myself unfit even to be a
 “ Disciple to a Man of Authority ; and perceive myself
 “ enveloped with the Darkness of Ignorance, as to innumerable Matters which are Objects of Knowledge.
 “ But, did I in Reality possess any of those high Qualities,
 “ which you ascribe to me ; HE alone would be worthy
 “ of the Praise, and it would All be referrible to HIM,
 “ unto Whom we daily say, *Not unto us, O Lord, not unto*
 “ *us, but to THY Name, give the Glory* (n).” The same Spirit

(m) “ Gratia est bona Voluntas Dei, quâ vult nobis dare quod non meruimus, ut nobis ex dato benè sit, & non ut ipsi Donanti aliquid inde proveniat.— Patet itaque, quòd omne Bonum, quod in nobis est, sive sit gratuitum, sive naturale, à Gratiâ Dei est ; quia nullum est bonum, quod ipse non velit esse : & ejus velle est facere. Non est igitur bonum, quod ipse non faciat. Aversionem igitur Voluntatis à malo, & Conversionem ad bonum, & Perseverantiam in bono, Ipse facit.— Bona autem Voluntas, quâ est Homo conformis Voluntati Divinæ, est Gratia data à Gratiâ quæ est Voluntas Divina : & tunc dicitur Gratia infundi, cùm Voluntas Divina in nostram Voluntatem incipit operari.” GROSSEHEAD, *De Grat. & Justif. In Fascic. Rer.* Vol. 2. p. 282.

(n) “ Nihil autem, in Literis vestris, mihi magis debet esse molestum, quàm quod dixistis, quocunque Animo illud dixeritis, me *Virum Autoritate & Scientiæ Claritate præditum*. Cùm adhuc ad Discipulatum Viri authenticici me sentiam minùs idoneum, & innumerabilium sciendorum Ignorantiæ Tenebris perfusum. Quòd si aliquid horum esset in me, Ille solus ex his

Spirit of Modesty and Self-Abasement accompanied him to the Episcopal Chair. Hence he usually styled himself, in his subsequent Letters, *Robertus, Permissione Divinâ, Lincolnienſis Eccleſiæ Miniſter humilis*; “Robert, by Divine “Permission, the poor Miniſter of the Church of Lin-
“coln (o).”

I acknowledge, that, on the Subjects of Grace and Free-Will, *Groſthead* does not always preſerve an invariable Conſiſtency. The Wonder, however, ought to be, not that he ſaw *no better*, but that he ſaw *ſo well* as he did. Like *Apollo*, he was, as to the main, *eloquent, mighty in the Scriptures, fervent in Spirit*, ſpeaking and teaching *boldly the Things of the Lord*: though, like the ſame excellent *Alexandrian*, he ſometimes needed an *Aquila* and *Prifcilla* to expound to him *the Way of God more perfectly* (p).

III. JOHN DE WICKLIFFE, ſurnamed The *Evangelical Doſtor*, enlightened and adorned the ſucceeding Century. He was born in the Pariſh of *Wickliffe*, near *Richmond*, in *Yorkſhire*, about A. D. 1324. The Hiſtorical Particulars, relative to the Life of this extraordinary Man, are ſo intereſting and numerous, that I forbear to enter on them, leſt they lead me too far.

Mr

“laudandus, & totum illi tribuendum, cui quotidie dicimus, *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, ſed Nomini Tuo, da Gloriam.*” Idem. *Ibid.* p. 309.

(o) Similar was the Humility of the ever memorable Biſhop HALL; whoſe laſt Will began thus: “*In the Name of God, Amen. I, Joſeph Hall, D. D. not worthy to be called Biſhop of Norwich, &c.*” *Fuller’s Worthies*, Part 2. p. 130.—Still more demerits were the Modesty & Self-abasement of that thrice-eminent Prodigy of Holineſs, Mr BRADFORD, the Martyr: who ſubſcribed himſelf, *The ſinful John Bradford: A very painted Hypocrite*, John Bradford:—*The moſt miſerable, hard-hearted, and unthankful Sinner*, John Bradford. See *Fox’s Mart.* Vol. 3.

(p) Acts xviii. 24—26.

Mr *Guthrie*, in his History of England, observes, that *Wickliffe* “seems to have been a *strong Predestinarian* (q).” It will presently appear, that he *more than seemed* to have been such; and that *Luther* and *Calvin* themselves were not stronger Predestinarians than *Wickliffe*. I shall open the Evidence, with *two* Propositions, extracted from his own Writings :

1. “The Prayer of the *Reprobate* prevaieth for no Man.
2. “*All Things* that happen, do come *absolutely* of Ne-
“cessity (r).”

The Manner, in which this great Harbinger of the Reformation defended the *latter* Proposition, plainly shews him to have been (notwithstanding *Guthrie's* Insinuation to the contrary) a deep and skilful Disputant. “Our Lord,” says he, “affirmed that such or such an Event should come to pass. It's Accomplishment, therefore, was unavoidable. The Antecedent is infallible : by Parity of Argument, the Consequent is so too. For the Consequent is not in the Power of a created Being, forasmuch as Christ affirmed so many Things” [before they were brought to pass]. “Neither did Christ [pre-] affirm any Thing accidentally. Seeing, then, that His Affirmation was, not accidental, but necessary; it follows, that the Event, affirmed by Him, must be necessary likewise. This Argument,” adds *Wickliffe*, “receives additional Strength, by observing, that, in what Way soever God may declare His Will, by his after-Discoveries of it in Time; still, His *Determination*, concerning the Event, took Place before the World was made: *ergo*, the Event will surely follow. The Necessity, therefore, of the Antecedent, holds no less irrefragably for the Necessity of the Consequent. And who can either promote or hinder the Inference, *viz.* That this was decreed of God before the Formation of

N 4

“the

(q) See *Rolt's* Lives of Reform. p. 10.

(r) Fox's *Acts and Mon.* Vol. I. p. 513.

“ the World (s) ? ” I will not undertake to justify the Whole of this Paragraph. I can only meet the excellent Man half-way. I agree with Him, as to the *Necessity of Events* : but I cannot, as He evidently did, suppose God Himself to be a *necessary Agent*, in the utmost Sense of the Term. That God *acts* in the most exact Conformity to His own *Decrees*, is a Truth which Scripture asserts again and again : but that God was *absolutely FREE in Decreeing*, is no less asserted by the inspired Writers ; who, with one Voice, declare the Father’s Predestination, and subsequent Disposal, of all Things, to be entirely founded, not on any antecedent Necessity, but on the single, sovereign Pleasure of His own *Will*.

The Quotation, however, proves, that *Wickliff* was an absolute Necessitarian. And he improves, with great Solidity and Acuteness, the Topic of *Prophecy* into (what it most certainly is) a very strong Argument for *Predestination*. As the *Prophecies* of the Old and New Testaments are such an Evidence of the Divine Inspiration of the Sacred Writers, and such a Proof of *Christianity*, as all the Infidels in the World will never be able to overthrow ; so, on the other Hand, those same *Prophecies* conclude, to the full, as strongly in Favor of peremptory *Predestination*. For, if Events were *undecreed*, they would be *unforeknown* : and, if

(s) “ Christus asseruit, *hoc esse futurum* : ergò, hoc est, fuit, vel erit. Antecedens est necessarium : ergò, et Consequens. Non enim est in Potestate Creaturæ ; quando Christus talia multa asseruit. Nec Assertio Animæ Christi per Accidens est hujusmodi & idèd, sicut necessariò Christus illud asseruit, ità necessariò illud eveniet. Confirmat hoc : quæcunque futuro signato, ante Mundi Constitutionem Deus determinavit hoc fore. Ergò, hoc erit. Quanta ergò erit Necessitas in Antecedente, tanta est Necessitas in Consequente. Et quis enim potest facere vel impedire, quin Deus determinavit hoc ante Mundi Constitutionem ? ” WICKLIFF, in *Triolog.* vide *Fascic. Rer.* Vol. I. p. 256.

if *unforeknown*, they could not be infallibly (1) *predicted*. To say, That 'Events may be *foreknown*, without falling 'under any effective or permissive *Decree*;' would be saying either *nothing* to the Purpose, or *worse* than nothing. For, if God can, with certainty, *foreknow* any Event whatever, which He did not *previously determine* to accomplish or permit; and that Event, barely foreknown, but entirely undecreed, be so *certainly future*, as to furnish positive Ground for *unerring Prophecy*; it would follow,

1. That God is *dependent*, for His Knowledge, on the Things known; instead of all Things being dependent on *Him*: and,
2. That there is some extraneous Concatenation of Causes, *prior* to the Will and Knowledge of God, by which His Will is regulated, and on which His Knowledge is founded. Thus *Arminianism*, in flying from the

(1) It is very observable, that *Wickliff's* Argument for Predestination, drawn from the *Prophecies* of our Lord, and cited at large in the preceding note; so puzzled the then Arch-bishop of *Armagh* (whose Name I know not, nor do I think it worth hunting out,) that it furnished his Popish Grace with Employment for *two Years* together, to reconcile the *Free-will* of Man with the certain Completion of *Prophecy*. A Task, however, which after all his Labor, the Romish Prelate found too hard for him. Yet, his Lordship, that he might not be forced to acknowledge *Predestination* and give up *Free-will*, thought proper to give up the Infallible Prescience of Christ Himself; blasphemously affirming, that "it was possible for Christ to be *mistaken* in his Prophecies, and to *misinform* his Church as to future Events." The Passage is so uncommon, that I will give it in the Writer's own Words. "Dicit Adversarius [scil. *Wickliff*,] quoad istud Argumentum, Dominum *Armachanum* per duos Annos studuisse pro ejus Dissolutione, & finalitèr nescivit (ut dicit) alitèr evadere, nisi concedendo, quòd *Christus errâsse potuit, et Ecclesiam decipisse*. Quam Conclusionem nullus Catholicus (ut dicit *Wickliff*) concederet. Et sic videtur ponere Dominum *Armachanum* extra Numerum Catholicorum." *Gulielm. Woodford contra Wicklesum*. Vide *Fascic. Rer.* Vol. 1. p. 256.

the *Decree*, jumps over Head and Ears into the most dangerous and exceptionable Part of that very *Stoicism*, which she pretends to execrate and avoid.

I return, Now, to Doctor *Wickliff*, whose Strictures led me into this Digression.

What he little more than intimates, in the Citation given above; he delivered, it seems, more plainly and peremptorily, elsewhere. Among the 62 Articles, laid to his Charge by *Thomas Netter* (commonly called, *Thomas of Walden*, who flourished about the Year 1409,) and for which, that Writer refers to the Volume and Chapter of *Wickliff's Works*; are these Three:

That “*All Things come to pass by FATAL Necessity* :

That “*God could not make the World otherwise than it is*
“*made*: and,

That “*God cannot do any Thing, which he doth not do (u).*”

This is *Fatalism* with a Witness. And I cite these Propositions, not to depreciate Dr *Wickliff*, whose Character I admire and revere, as one of the greatest and best since the Apostolic Age; nor yet with a View to recommend the *Propositions* themselves: but, simply, to shew, how far this illustrious Reformer ran, from the present Arminian System, or rather No-system, of Chance and Free-will. But, concerning even those of *Wickliff's* Assertions, which were the most rash and unguarded; Candor (not to say, Justice) obliges me to observe, with *Fuller*,
that,

(u) *Fuller's Church Hist.* B. 4. p. 134.—What this valuable Historian premises, concerning *Wickliff*, before he enters on his Account of him, deserves to be quoted. “I intend,” says Dr *Fuller*, “neither to deny, dissemble, defend, nor excuse, any of his Faults. *We have this Treasure*, saith the Apostle, *in earthen Vessels*: and he, that shall endeavor to prove a *Pitcher of Clay* “to be a *Pot of Gold*, will take great Pains to small Purpose. “Yea, should I be over-officious to retain myself to plead for “*Wickliff's* Faults, that glorious Saint would sooner chide than “thank me.”

that, were all his Works extant, “ we might therein read
 “ the *Occasion*, *Intention*, and *Connection*, of what he spake :
 “ together with the *Limitations*, *Restrictions*, *Distinctions*
 “ and *Qualifications*, of what he maintained. There we
 “ might see, what was the Over-plus of his Passion, and
 “ what the just Measure of his Judgment. Many Phrases,
 “ heretical in Sound, would appear orthodox in Sense.
 “ Yea, some of his [reputedly—] poysonous passages,
 “ dressed with due Caution, would prove not only *whole-*
 “ *some*, but *cordial* Truths : many of his Expressions want-
 “ ing, not *Granum Ponderis*, but *Granum Salis* ; no Weight
 “ of Truth, but some Grains of Discretion (x).”

What I shall next add, may be rather styled bold Truths, than indiscrete Assertions.—“ He defined the *Church* to
 “ consist only of *Persons PREDESTINATED*. And affirm-
 “ ed, *That God loved David and Peter as dearly, when they*
 “ *grievously sinned, as he doth now when they are possessed of*
 “ *Glory* (y).” This latter Position might, possibly, have
 been more unexceptionably expressed ; be it, substantially,
 ever so true.

Wickliff was found in the Article of gratuitous Pardon and Justification by the alone Death and Righteousness of Jesus Christ. “ The Merit of Christ,” says he, “ is, of
 “ itself, *sufficient* to redeem every Man from Hell. It is
 “ to be understood of a *sufficiency* OF ITSELF, without
 “ any other concurring Cause. All that follow Christ, being
 “ justified by HIS Righteousness, shall be saved, as his Off-
 “ spring (z).” It has been already observed, and proved,
 that

(x) *Ibid.* p. 135.

(y) *Ibid.* p. 134.

(z) See *Allix's* Remarks on the *Albigenses*, chap. 24. p. 229. Dr *Allix* farther observes, that *Wickliff* “ rejects the Doctrine of
 “ the Merit of Works, and falls upon those who say, That ‘ God
 “ did not ALL for them,’ but think that ‘ their Merits help.’—Heal
 “ us, Lord, FOR NOUGHT, says *Wickliff* ; that is, for no Merit
 “ of ours, but for thy Mercy.” *Ibid.* p. 229, 230.

that he had very high Notions of that inevitable *Necessity*, by which he supposed every Event is governed. Yet, he did not enthusiastically sever the End from the Means, Witness his own Words: "Though *all* future Things do
 " happen *necessarily*, yet God wills that good Things hap-
 " pen to his Servants through the Efficacy of *Prayer* (a)." Upon the whole, it is no wonder that such a profligate Factor for Popery and Arminianism, as *Peter Heylin*, should (*pro Mere*) indecently affirm, that "*Wickliff's* Field had
 " more Tares, than Wheat; and his Books more Hete-
 " rodoxies, than SOUND CATHOLIC DOCTRINE (b)."

His Character, as briefly drawn by Bishop *Newton*, and a Word or two from Mr *Rolt*, shall conclude his Article. Bishop *Newton* terms him "the deservedly famous *John*
 " *Wickliff*, the Honor of his own, and the Admiration
 " of all succeeding Times. Rector only of *Lutterworth* [in
 " *Leicestershire*,] he filled all *England*, and almost all *Eu-*
 " *rope*, with his Doctrine. He began to grow famous,
 " about the Year 1360. He (c) translated the Canonical
 cal

(a) See *Allix*, u. f. p. 235.

(b) *Miscell. Tracts*, p. 543.

(c) A Specimen, or two, of *Wickliff's* Translation of the New Testament, into the old *English* of that Period, may not be displeasing to the Reader.

" *Matth. xi. 25, 26.* In thilke Tyme Jhesus answeride & seid,
 " I knowleche to thee, Fadir, Lord of Hevene & of Erthe, for
 " thou hast hid these Thingis fro wise Men & redy, & hast schew-
 " id hem to litil Childien. So, Fadir; for so it was plesynge
 " to fore thee.

" *John x. 26—30.* Ye beleven not, for ye ben not of my
 " Scheep. My Scheep heren my Vois, & I knowe hem, and
 " thei fuen me. And I gyve to hem everlastynge Lyf, & thei
 " schulen not perishe, withouten End; & noon schal raufshe
 " hem fro myn Hond. That Thing that my Fadir gaf to me,
 " is more than alle Thingis: & no Man may raufshe fro my
 " Fadiris Hond. I & the Fadir ben oon.

" *Romans*

" cal Scriptures into the *English* Language, and wrote
 " Comments upon them. He demonstrated the Anti-
 " christianity of Popery, and the Abomination of Deso-
 " lation in the Temple of God.—His Success was greater
 " than he could have expected. The Princes, the People,
 " the University of *Oxford*, many even of the Clergy,
 " favored and supported him, and embraced his Opinions.
 " —This truly great and good Man died of a [second
 " Stroke of the] Palsy, the last Day of the Year 1387.
 " But his Doctrines did not die with him. His Books
 " were read in the public Schools and Colleges at *Oxford*,
 " and were recommended to the diligent Perusal of each
 " Student in the University, till they were condemned and
 " prohibited, by the Council of *Constance*, in the next
 " Century.—He himself had been permitted to die
 in

" *Romans* ix. 11—21. Whanne thei weren not ghit borun,
 " neithir hadden doon ony Thing of good, eithir of yvel; that
 " the Purpos of God schulde dwell bi Eleccioun, not of Werkis,
 " but of God clepyng; it was seid to him, that the more schulde
 " serve the lasse: as it is writun, I louyde Jacob, but I hatide
 " Esau. What therfore schulen we seie? wher Wickidnesse
 " be anentis God? God forbede. For He seith to Moises, I schal
 " have Mercy on whom I have Mercy, & I schal ghyve Merci
 " on whom I have Mercy. Therefore, it is not neither of Man
 " willynge, neither rennyng; but of God hauynge Mercy. And
 " the Scripture seith to Farao, For to this Thing have I styrrid
 " thee, that I schewe in thee my Vertu, and that my Name be
 " teeld in al Erthe. Therefore, of whom God wole, he hath
 " Mercy: & whom he wole, he endurith. Thanne seist thou
 " to me, What is sought ghit, for who withstondith his Will?
 " Oo Man, what art thou that answerist to God! Wher a maad
 " Thing seith to him that made it, What hast thou maad me
 " so? Wher a Pottere of Cley hath not Power to make, of the
 " same Gobet, oo Vessel into Onour, a nothir into Dispyt!"

Taken from *Lewis's* Edition of *Wickliff's* Transl. N. Test.—
Lond. 1731. Folio.

“ in Peace : but, after his Death, his Doctrines were
 “ condemned [again,] his Books were burnt; his very
 “ Body was dug up and burnt too, by a Decree of the
 “ Council of *Constance*, and the Command of Pope *Martin*
V. executed by *Richard Fleming* Bishop of *Lincoln*.
 “ His Followers, however; were not discouraged : and
 “ many of them witnessed a good Confession even unto
 “ Death (*d*).”

“ I am informed,” says Mr *Rolt* (*e*), “ by a Gentleman,
 “ who lives near *Lutterworth*, that the Gown, which Dr
 “ *Wickliff* wore, now covers the Communion Table in
 “ that Church (*f*). And, as this eminent Man may
 “ justly be considered as the Author of the Reformation,
 “ not only in *England*, but throughout all *Europe*; surely,
 “ some decent Respect should be paid to his Worth, and
 “ a public Monument erected to his Memory.—The
 “ *Wickliffites* were oppressed, but could not be extin-
 “ guished. Persecution served only to establish *that*
 “ FAITH which became *general* at the REFORMATION,
 “ about an Hundred Years after these Restraints were
 “ moderated. The whole Nation then unanimously em-
 “ braced the Doctrine, which *Wickliff* began : and Popery
 “ was abolished in *England*, that the Purity of Religion
 “ might increase the Blessings of Liberty.” Let me just
 add : Surely, *Arminianism* must blush to call herself *Pro-*
testant, when he, whom all unite to consider as (under
 God) the “ Author of the Reformation, not in *England*
 “ only, but in all *Europe*,” was not merely a *Calvinist*,
 but *more* than a *Calvinist*; and carried the Doctrine of
 Predestination to such an extreme Height, as even *Luther*,
Calvin, and *Zanchius*, did not fully come up to. Mr *Hume* is
 sufficiently moderate, and not at all above par, in affirming
Wickliff

(*d*) *Dissertations on the Prophecies*, Vol. 3. Diss. 24. Part 1.

(*e*) *Lives of the Reformers*, p. 12.

(*f*) I, too, remember to have heard (but how authentically
 I cannot affirm,) that the *Pulpit*, in which *Wickliff* used to preach,
 is still preserved in the Church of *Lutterworth*.

Wickliff to have “ Asserted, that EVERY Thing was subject
 “ to FATE and DESTINY, and that All Men are PREDES-
 “ TINATED either to eternal Salvation or Reprobation (g).”

IV. THOMAS BRADWARDIN, personal Chaplain to King *Edward III.* and at last Archbishop of *Canterbury*, may rank with the brightest Luminaries, of whom This or any other Nation can boast. Mr *Camden* observes, that *Bradwardin* Castle, in *Herefordshire*, “ gave both Original
 “ and Name” to this famous Archbishop; “ who, for
 “ his great Variety of Knowledge, and his admirable Pro-
 “ ficiency in the most abstruse Parts of Learning, was
 “ honored with the Title of *Doctor Profundus* (h),” or the *Profound Doctor*. That his Ancestors had been seated in that Part of *Herefordshire* mentioned above, is admitted by the general Stream of Writers, who have treated of this great Man. But he himself was certainly born in *Suffex*. Sir *Henry Savile* seems to have had very sufficient Reason for determining our Prelate’s Birth-place to the City of *Chichester* (i). The Year, that gave him to the World, was, probably, 1290, about the Middle of *Edward I.*’s Reign. During the Reign of *Edward II.* he
 was

(g) *Hume’s Hist. of Engl.* Vol. 3. p. 57. Octavo, 1767.

(h) *Camden’s Britannia*, Vol. 1. Col. 686.

(i) “ De Loco Nativitatis, putabam aliquando apud *Bradwardin* Castrum & Vicum natum fuisse:—sed me ab hâc
 “ sententiâ non improbabili revocârunt expressa Verba ipsius
 “ BRADWARDINI, ubi non obscurè, ut mihi videtur, innuit, se
 “ *Cicestrîâ* oriundum. Verba sunt: *Per similem etiam Rationem*
 “ *quicquid nunc scribo Oxoniæ, scriberet Pater meus Cicestrîæ; quia*
 “ *genuit me scribentem, imò Avus & Proavus, &c.* (De Causâ Dei
 “ L. 3. Cap. 22.) Ut non multùm aberrâsse videantur *Baleus*,
 “ et Antiquitatum Britannicarum Auctor, qui *Hartfeldiæ* natum
 “ asserunt, in Diœcesi Cicestrensi: quibus Auctoribus, aut qui-
 “ bus permoti Argumentis, nescio. Apud me, certè, illa Auc-
 “ toris verba præponderant, dum aliquid certius ab aliis affera-
 “ tur.” *Savillii Præf. ad Lect. Bradwardini Opeti, De Causâ*
Dei, præfix.

was admitted into *Merton College, Oxford* : and was Proctor of the University, A. D. 1325. He made himself perfect Master of the Philosophy of *Aristotle* and *Plato*. But his chief Talent lay in *Mathematics* and *Theology* : to These he devoted his main Application, and in These he distanced the brightest of his Contemporaries. Sir *Henry Savile* had in his Possession a large Manuscript Volume of *Astronomical Tables*, composed by this extraordinary Man : on which that most learned Writer set a very high Value, and of which he speaks in very respectable Terms.

If Sir *Henry* admired *Bradwardin* as a Philosopher ; he revered and was in Raptures with him, as a Divine. “ It
 “ was in DIVINITY,” says he, “ that the Archbishop
 “ snatched the Prize from all his Co-ævals. That single
 “ Volume [*De Causâ Dei*], of which I am the Editor,
 “ written to unravel and expose the Falsehood of *Pelagi-*
 “ *anism*, is alone sufficient to crown him the most con-
 “ summate Theologist of that Century. We have the
 “ sad, but resistless Conviction of Experience, that the
 “ *Pelagian* Heresy has been a growing Evil, for Ages back.
 “ To this, therefore, our accomplished Author opposed
 “ his Artillery. Some Lectures, which he had formerly
 “ delivered at *Oxford*, were the Basis of this noble Per-
 “ formance. At the earnest Entreaty of the *Merton* Stu-
 “ dents, to whom those Lectures had been read, he ar-
 “ ranged, polished, enlarged, and reduced them into Form,
 “ while he was Chancellor of the Diocese of *London*. No
 “ sooner was the Work completed and given to the Public,
 “ than vast Multitudes of Hands were employed in tran-
 “ scribing it, and Copies of it were diffused throughout
 “ the greatest Part of *Europe*. No Treatise could be more
 “ eagerly sought and received. Hardly a Library was
 “ without it. It captivated the very Muses : for *Chaucer*,
 “ the Father of English Poetry, who flourished within a
 “ few Years after the Archbishop’s Decease, puts him
 “ in the same Rank with *St Austin*, in those Lines,
 “ so

“ so pleasingly remarkable for their antique Simplicity of
“ Style :

“ But what that God afore mote, must needs bee,
“ After the Opinion of certain Clerks.
“ Witness of him that any Clerke is,
“ That in Schole is great Altercation
“ In this Matter, and great Disputation,
“ And hath been of an Hundred Thousand Men.
“ But I ne cannot boult it to the Wren,
“ As can the hely Doctour Saincte Austin,
“ Dr Boece, or the Bishop Bradwardin (k).”

Our excellent Prelate, being a most exact Mathematician, has, conformably to the Rules of the Science he so much admired, thrown his Theological Arguments into Mathematical Order : and, I believe, was the first Divine who persued that Method. Hence, his Book against the *Pelagians* is, from Beginning to End, one regular, strong unbroken Chain. This does, indeed, render his Work abstruse and difficult, in some Measure, to such as peruse it superficially : but, at the same Time, it conduces to make his Reasonings intrinsically firm, conclusive, and invincible (l).

Having, for some Years, sat as Divinity Professor, at Oxford, with the most exalted Reputation ; He was ad-
Omitted

(k) Chaucer's Lines have, perhaps, at present, little else, besides their *Rust*, to recommend them. But Sir H. Savile's Version of them into *Latin*, is highly elegant and classical.

*Non evenire non potest, quicquid DEUS
Præscivit : ita fert crebra Doctorum Cobors.
Hic Literatum quem libet Testem voco,
Quantis utrinque Fluctibus Lis hæc Scholas
Trivit, teritque ; pendè inextricabili
Ingenia Nodo centies mille implicans.
Excutere Nudos hæc adusque Furfures
(Quod ab Augustino præsitum, et Boethio,
Ac Bradwardino Episcopo) non sum petis.*

(l) Savil. in Præf. u. f.

mitted to the Friendship of *Richard de Bury*, the learned Bishop of *Durham*: and, at length, went to live with him as one of his Family. Seven other Persons (mostly *Merton* Men,) conspicuous for Genius and Learning, were also transplanted, from *Oxford*, to the House of that munificent Prelate, who had a very high Relish for the Pleasures and Improvements resulting from Literary Conversation (*m*).

Such was the Modesty of *Bradwardin*, that his Preferments flowed in upon him, not only unsought, but undesired. It was with great Difficulty, that he was prevailed upon to let a Canonry of *Lincoln* be annexed to his Chancellorship of *London*, though the Revenue of the Latter was far from large. At length, his vast Learning, and the invariable Purity of his Life, rendered him so famous, that he was nominated by *John Stratford*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to be Chaplain to his Sovereign, King *Edward III*. In this Capacity, he attended that great Prince, during his long and successful Wars in *France*. With a warpleſs Integrity, rarely found in thoſe who wait on Kings; he made it his Buſineſs to calm and mitigate the Fierceneſs of his Maſter's Temper, when he ſaw him either immoderately fired with warlike Rage, or unduly ſuſhed with the Advantages of Victory. Nor were his Piety and Watchfulneſs limited to his Monarch. He often preached to the Army with ſuch Meekneſs and Perſuaſiveneſs of Wiſdom, as reſtrained them from many of thoſe ſavage Violences, which are too frequently the Attendants on Military Succeſs.

On the Death of *Stratford*, the Church of *Canterbury* unanimouſly choſe *Bradwardin* for their Archbiſhop. But the King, being ſtill engaged in *France*, reſuſed to part with him. *John Ufford* was then put in Nomination for that See: but he dying ſoon after his Election, *Bradwardin* was choſen a ſecond Time, and the King yielded to
the

(*m*) *Anglia Sacra*, Vol. 1. p. 766. Edit. 1691.

the Choice. He was, accordingly, consecrated at (n) *Avignon*, in 1349, and returned into *England* soon after. But he did not long adorn the Metropolitcal Chair. He died, at *Lambeth*, the October following (o); and was interred in *St Anselm's Chapel*, by the South Wall, within the Cathedral of *Canterbury*: disgraced with a most wretched (p) Epitaph, which is only worthy of Preservation for its having once marked the Tomb of so great a Man.

I have dwelled the longer on the Outlines of *Bradwardin's* History, because I find them so superficially hurried over by the Generality of our *English* Writers. A Species of Negligence, not easily excusable, where a Character, so peculiarly illustrious, was the Object of Investigation.

The Protestant Cause is more indebted to this extraordinary Prelate, than seems to be commonly known. He was, in some Sense, Dr *Wickliff's* Spiritual Father: for it was the Perusal of *Bradwardin's* Writings; which, next to the Holy Scriptures, opened that Proto-Reformer's Eyes to discover the genuine Doctrine of *Faith* and *Justification*. “BRADWARDIN taught him” [i. e. taught *Wickliff*] “the Nature of a true and *Justifying Faith*, in Opposition

O 2

“ to

(n) *Bradwardin* was a known Predestinarian: a Circumstance, which, by no means, weighed in his Favor with the Pope. Accordingly, on the Day of the Archbishop's Consecration, after the Ceremony was over, he was insulted, as he sat at Dinner, by a Buffoon mounted on an Ass for that Purpose. The Person who procured him this low Affront, was the Cardinal of *Tudela*, the Pope's near Kinsman.—*Anglia Sacra*, Vol. I. p. 43.

(o) Vide *Savil*. ubi supra.

(p) *Doctior Doctorem BRADWARDIN hâc jacet Urnâ,*

Norma Pastorum laudabilis et diuturna.

Qui Invidiâ caruit, Vitam sine Crimine duxit,

Et ex Ore suo quicquid sit scibile fluxit.

Nullus sub sole est, cui sic fuere omnia nota.

Cantia, nunc dole: trisleris et Anglia tota.

Vos qui et transitis hîc omnes, atque reditis,

Dicite quòd CHRISTI Pietas sit promptior isti.

Weever's *Ant. Funeral Mon.* p. 231.

“ to Merit-Mongers and Pardoners, Purgatory and Pil-
 “ grimages (q).”

I now beg my Reader's Permission to lay before him a few Passages from *Bradwardin's* Golden Work, entitled, “ THE CAUSE OF GOD :” written as an Antidote against the *Pelagian* Poison, and to demonstrate the *Abso- luteness* both of *Providence* and *Grace*. This inestimable Performance was printed, A. D. 1618, by the united Care (and, it should seem, at the joint-Expence) of the pious Dr *George Abbot*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the most Learned Sir *Henry Savile*.

Bradwardin laments the *Pelagianism* of his own Times, in Terms but too applicable to the present : “ What Mul-
 “ titudes, O Lord, at this Day, join Hands with *Pelagius*,
 “ in contending for Free-Will, and in fighting against
 “ Thy absolutely-free Grace ; and against that great spi-
 “ ritual Champion for Grace, the Apostle *Paul* ! By how
 “ many is Thy unmerited Grace looked upon with scorn-
 “ ful Abhorrence, while they proudly insist, that Free-
 “ will alone is sufficient to Salvation ! or, if they make
 “ use of the Word *Grace*, and slightly pretend to believe
 “ that Grace is necessary ; to what Purpose is this Pre-
 “ tence, while they boast of its being in the Power of
 “ Free-will to lay thy Grace under Obligation ? thus
 “ making Grace itself no longer gratuitous, but represent-
 “ ing Thee as *selling* it, instead of *giving* it (r).”

“ Some, more haughty than even *Lucifer*, are not con-
 “ tent with barely lifting themselves to an *Equality* with
 “ Thee ; but are most daringly desirous to *govern* and
 “ control

(q) History of Popery, Vol. 2. p. 164.

(r) “ Quot, Domine, hodiè cum *Pelagio*, pro Libero Arbi-
 trio, contra gratuitam Gratiam tuam, pugnant ; & contra Pau-
 lum, Pugilem Gratie spirituales ! Quot etiam hodiè gratuitam
 Gratiam tuam fastidiunt, solumque Liberum Arbitrium ad salu-
 tem sufficere stomachantur ! Aut si *Gratiâ* utantur, vel persua-
 sione necessariam eam simulant, ipsamque se jactant Liberi sui Ar-
 bitrii Viribus promereri ; ut sic saltem nequaquam *gratuita*, sed
mercedita videatur !” *Bradw.* De Caus. Dei, in Præf.

“ *control* Thee, who art the King of Kings. Such are
 “ they, who dread not to affirm, That, even in a com-
 “ mon Action, *their own* Will walks *first*, as an inde-
 “ pendent Mistress; and that THY Will follows *after*,
 “ like an obsequious Handmaid: That they themselves
 “ go *foremost*, like sovereign Lords; while THOU walkest
 “ *behind* them, like an hired Servant: That they issue
 “ their Orders, as Kings; and that THOU, like an im-
 “ plicit Subject, actest according to the imperial Nod of
 “ *their* determining Will (s)”—By such nervous Rea-
 soning, and by such well adapted Images, did this chris-
 tian Hero cut in sunder the very Sinews of what was then
 termed *antecedent Merit*; but which is now suppld into the
 smother Phrase of, “ *Conditional Grace* :” the same Thing
 in Sense, though of softer Sound.

Among the first Positions, which *Bradwardin* undertakes
 to prove, are these: that “ God is, not contingently, but
 “ *necessarily*, perfect. That he is incapable of *changing*.
 “ That he is not (for Instance) *irascible* and *appeasable*; liable
 “ to the Emotions of *Joy* and *Sorrow*; or, in any Respect,
 “ *passive*. Since, if he was, he would be *changeable*: where-
 “ as he is ALWAYS THE SAME, and never varies. He
 “ cannot change, for the *better*: because,” says *Bradwardin*,
 “ He is already perfectly good [and Happy.] Neither
 “ can he change, for the *worse*: because, he is *necessarily*
 “ perfect, and therefore *cannot cease* to be so (t).”

He justly observes, that “ The Divine WILL is *uni-*
 “ *versaliter efficax*, UNIVERSALLY EFFICACIOUS: which
 “ is a Mark of much higher Perfection, than if his Will
 o 3 “ could

(s) “ Imò et superbiore Lucifero, æqualitate tui nequaquam
 contenti, super te, Rex Regum, impudentissimè gestiunt se reg-
 nare. Non enim verentur astuere, suam Voluntatem, in Actione
 communi, præire ut Dominam; tuam subsequi, ut Ancillam:
 se præire, ut Dominos; te subsequi, sicut Servum: se. velut
 Reges, præcipere; Te, tanquam subditum, obedire.” *Ibid.*

(t) *De Causâ Dei*, Lib. 1. Cap. 1. Corol. 6. p. 5.

“ could be *hindered, frustrated*, or miss of its *Intent*. If
 “ God could wish for any Thing, and yet not have it; or
 “ if he could *will* any Thing, and yet not bring it to pass;
 “ he would and must, from that Moment, cease to be per-
 “ fectly *happy*: which is impossible (*u*).” The Conse-
 quence is plain: viz; that every Thing falls out accord-
 ing to God’s original Design, or effective and permissive
 Determination.

He powerfully beats down the Doctrine of Human *Me-
 rit*. He will not allow, that Men can merit at the Hand
 of God, either *antecedently*, or *subsequently*, i. e. either *prior*
 to Grace received, or *after* it. “ Is it not more bountiful
 “ to *give*, than to *barter*? to BESTOW a Thing *freely*,
 “ *gratis*, and for *nothing*; than for the sake of any pre-
 “ ceding or subsequent Desert, which would be a sort of
 “ Price or Payment? Even a generous *Man* often confers
 “ Benefits on others, without any View to the previous
 “ or succeeding Merit of the Object. Much more does
 “ God do this, who is infinitely richer in Bounty, than
 “ the most liberal of His Creatures (*x*).” From this, and
 an Hundred other Passages to the same Effect, it is evident,
 that, where he applies the Word *Meritum* to any human Act
 of Obedience; he means no more by it, than *moral Good-
 ness* and *Virtue*, as opposed to *Sin* and *Vice*: in which Sense
 the Term *Merit* is incontestably used by several of the Pri-
 mitive Fathers; though the Word has been long and justly
 reprobated by all sound Divines, on Account of the Anti-
 christian Use that is made of it by Papists and Pelagians.

From

(*u*) “ Voluntas quoque Divina est universali & efficacis Modo
 dicto. Hoc enim est perfectius, quàm quòd esset impeditibilis,
 frustrabilis, aut defectibilis ullo Modo. Si etiam Deus quic-
 quam vellet, & illud non haberet, nec fieret; non esset summè
 beatus & felix, sed miser.” *Ibid.* Corol. 8.

(*x*) “ Et nonne Liberalius est, dare, quàm vendere? gratis
 dare, quàm pro aliquo Merito, veluti quodam Præmio, præce-
 denti. aut etiam consequenti? Nonne Homo liberalis multa sic
 donat? Cur ergò non Deus, liberalior infinitè?” *Ibid.* Corollar.
 29. p. 23.

From That Declaration of our Lord, *My Father worketh hitherto, and I work*; and from That Assertion of the Apostle, *In HIM we live, and are moved* [*κινεῖσθαι*], and *exist*; the Archbishop infers, 1. "That no Thing what-
 " ever can put any other Thing into Motion, unless God
 " Himself, by His own proper Influence, give Motion to
 " the Thing so moved: 2. That no Thing whatever can
 " put any other into Motion, without God's being the
 " IMMEDIATE Mover of it: Yea, 3. That whatsoever
 " is put in Motion by any Thing else, is MORE *imme-*
 " *diately* moved by God himself, than by the Instrument
 " which sets it in Motion, be that Instrument what it
 " will (y)." This is winding up Matters to a very high
 Standard. And yet, perhaps, the Standard is no higher
 than Philosophy itself can justify. But my Readers will
 observe, that I am neither dictating to *Them*, nor so much
 as giving my own express Opinion. My present Business
 is, to quote *Bradwardin*, simply as his Judgment stands.
 "God," says he, "maketh all Things, and moveth all
 " Things. In every Formation, and in every Motion,
 " there must be some unoriginated Former, and some im-
 " moveable Mover; else the Process would be endless (z)." His
 Meaning is, that, unless we trace up all Being, and
 all Philosophic Motion (whether active Motion, or pas-
 sive,) to God himself; we can find no first Cause, where-
 in to rest: we can have no central Point to stop at, but
 shall be lost amid the immense Circumference of bound-
 less, wild Uncertainty.

(y) "1. Quòd nihil potest quicquam movere, sine Deo idem, PER SE, et PROPRIE, movente. 2. Quòd nihil potest quicquam movere, sine Deo IMMEDIATE idem movente. 3. Quòd nihil potest quicquam movere, sine Deo idem movente IMMEDIATUUS alio Motore quocunque." *Ibid.* Lib. 1. Cap. 4. p. 174.

(z) "Constat si quidem, secundùm præmissa tertio hujus & quarto, quòd Deus omnia facit et movet: et in omni Factione & Motione est aliquis Factor & Motor infactibilis & immobilis. Alioquin esset Processus infinitus." *Ibid.* Cap. 5. p. 175.

What he delivers, concerning the *Knowledge* of God, is worthy of our utmost Attention. “ It is certain, that
 “ God hath a Knowledge of all Things present, of all
 “ Things past, and of all Things to come : which Know-
 “ ledge is supremely *actual, particular, distinct*, and (a) *in-*
fallible

(a) The Certainty and Necessity of every future Event, follow as strongly on the Principle of God's *Fore-knowledge*, or *Omniscience*; as they can possibly do, on the Hypothesis of the most adamantin *Decree*. Moreover, the very same Arguments, by which the *Divine Knowledge* of future Events is proved, are no less conclusive against that false Species of capricious *Free-will* which the Arminians so lavishly ascribe to Mankind. That God's *Omniscience* and the Arminian *Free Agency*, cannot possibly stand together ; is acknowledged by the eminent and penetrating Mr MONTESQUIEU : who, accordingly, puts the following Arguments into the Mouth of his supposed *Persian*. “ It is not possible, that God can *foresee*
 “ what depends on the Determination of *Free-Agents*. Because,
 “ what hath *not existed*, is *not in Being* ; and, consequently, can-
 “ not be *known*: which, having no *Properties*, cannot be *perceived*.
 “ God cannot read in the Will, what is not in it ; or see in the
 “ Sou', a Thing which is not yet existing in it: for, till she hath
 “ determined, the Action which she determines upon is not in
 “ her. The Soul is the Maker of her own Determination : but
 “ there are some Circumstances, in which she is so irresolute, that
 “ she knows not on which Side to determine. Sometimes she may
 “ even do it, only to make Use of her Liberty ; in such Manner
 “ that God cannot see this Determination beforehand, neither
 “ in the Action of the Soul, nor in the Actions which the Objects
 “ make upon her. How then can God foresee those Things which
 “ depend upon the Determination of Free Agents ? He could fore-
 “ see them but in two ways: by *Conjecture* ; which is irreconcil-
 “ able with infinite Fore-knowledge: or, otherwise, he must see
 “ them as *necessary Effects*, which *infallibly* follow a Cause which
 “ produces them as infallibly.” This consummate Genius, present'y after, observes, that, “ supposing God to foresee in the
 “ latter Respect, the Idea of absolute *Free-agency* vanishes that
 “ Instant : since the Soul in her Act of Determining, would no
 “ more be *free*, than one Billiard Ball is free to lie still, when it
 “ is

“ *fallible* (b).—We may consider it as either *Simple*, or
 “ *Approbative*. His *simple* or absolute Knowledge extends
 “ to every Thing. His Knowledge of *Approbation* includes
 “ (over and above the former) the Liking, the good Plea-
 “ sure, and Complacency of Will, which he graciously bears
 “ to some Persons (c).” This Distinction of the Divine
 Knowledge into *absolute* and *approbatory*, is founded on
 clear Scripture-evidence. Of the first, see *John* xxi. 17.
 1 *John* iii. 20.—Of the latter, *John* x. 14. 2 *Tim.* ii. 19.

He employs an whole (d) Chapter in proving, *Quòd Res
 scitæ non sunt Causæ Divinæ Scientiæ*: or, that “the Things
 “ known are not the Foundation of God’s knowing them.”
 This to some, may seem a Question of unnecessary Spec-
 ulation: but, on a nearer View, it must appear to be a
 Point of the utmost Importance, in which the *Perfection*
 (and consequently, the very *Being*) of God are deeply in-
 volved. A summary of *Bradwardin’s* Reasoning on this
 Subject, deserves to be lain before the Reader. “KNOW-

LEDGE

“ is pushed by another.”—See MONTESQUIEU’S *Persian Letters*,
 Vol. 1. Let. LXIX. Edit. 1762.

The Matter, then, is reduced to this Issue: EITHER God
 must be stripped of his *Omniscience*; OR, Men must be divested
 of independent and uncertain *Free-will*. If one stands, the other
 must fall.—Query: Which had we best give up? Shall we com-
 mence *Atheists*? or shall we confess ourselves *dependent* Beings?—
 What the Apostle says, on another Occasion; I, for my own Part,
 make no scruple to say here: *Let God be true, and every Man a
 Lyar*. Let the Knowledge of God be infinite, though it thrive
 Human Freedom to a *Satan*. Better is it, not to rob God of an
 essential Attribute; than to crown ourselves with an ideal Plume,
 or rather a Diadem of Straw, and trample on real DEITY by sup-
 posing ourselves Kings and Gods.

(b) *Ibid.* Cap. 6. p. 181.

(c) “*Scientia Dei est duplex: scil. simplicis Cognitionis, seu
 Notitiæ; et Approbationis & Complacentiæ, quæ, ultra simplicem
 Cognitionem, seu Notitiam, addit Approbationem, Beneplaci-
 tum, & Complacentiam Voluntatis.*” *Ibid.* Cap. 7. p. 188. ubi,
 plura videbis.

(d) *Lib.* 1. Cap. 15.

“ LEDGE is a principal Perfection in God. If, therefore,
 “ his Knowledge were *derived* from the Objects with which
 “ it is conversant; it would follow, that God is indebted,
 “ for part of his Perfection, to some other Source than
 “ Himself: in which Case, he must cease to be *self-perfect*.
 “ He would, moreover, cease to be *all-sufficient* of him-
 “ self: for he would stand in Need of created Help, to ren-
 “ der his Knowledge complete. His Omniscience would
 “ be forced to ask Assistance from the very Things it com-
 “ prehends. And how could his essential Glory be match-
 “ less and unrivalled, if any Portion of it was suspended
 “ on Assistance borrowed from without? Add to this, that
 “ if the Things, which God knows, are themselves the
 “ producing Cause of his knowing them; they must be
 “ *antecedent* to his Knowledge, either in *Commencement of*
 “ *Existence*, or in *Order of Nature*. But they are *not* prior
 “ to his Knowledge in either of these Respects: for *they*
 “ are all created in Time: whereas God and his Know-
 “ ledge are Eternal.—Besides, if the Deity received any
 “ Degree of his Intelligence from the Beings he has made,
 “ he would cease to be a *pure Act*: he would be *passive*, in
 “ that Reception. Whence it would also follow, that
 “ He must be susceptible of *Change*. Nay, he would de-
 “ generate into a Sort of *inferiority* to the Things known,
 “ and (being dependent on them for his Knowledge) would,
 “ so far, be considered as *less noble* than They. The di-
 “ vine Understanding would, like ours, be, occasionally,
 “ in a State of *Suspence* and *Fluctuation*. God might ra-
 “ ther be said to possess a *Power* or *Capability* of knowing,
 “ than KNOWLEDGE itself. He would only stand *disposed*
 “ to know either This or That, indifferently, according
 “ as the Event may turn: and would be actuated and de-
 “ termined by Agency and Causality extraneous to him-
 “ self. And thus he would neither be the highest nor the
 first

“ first (e).” Swayed by such Reasons as these, the Archbishop concludes, that *Averroes* was right in affirming, that “ The Knowledge of God is a Cause of the Things known, and not *vice versâ*. Human Knowledge is founded on its respective Objects: but all Objects of the Divine Knowledge are founded on the Divine Knowledge itself (f).” He adds: “ God himself is the First and the Last, the Beginning and the End (g).—But were the Things which he knows, the Basis of his Knowledge; it would follow, that his Creatures contribute to improve their MAKER’s Wisdom. And thus, foolish Man, or even the meanest Beast of the Field, would be exalted into a necessary Assistant, Counsellor, and Teacher of the all-wise GOD.—Well, therefore, may we say, with AUSTIN, *God knew all his Creatures, both corporeal and incorporeal, not because they exist; but they therefore exist, because he knew them: for he was not ignorant of what he intended to create. Amidst all the innu-*
“ rable

(e) “ *Scire namque est magnæ Perfectionis in Deo. Si ergò scientia Dei causetur à scitis, ipse recipit Perfectionem ab alio. Ergò, non est, ex se, summè perfectus. Item, tunc non esset per se sufficientissimus: indigeret enim scitis, à quibus posset suffragia suæ scientiæ mendicare. Quomodo ergo erit incomparabiliùr Gloriosus, qui mendicatis suffragiis gloriatur?—Item, si scita essent Causæ effectivæ Divinæ scientiæ, præcederent illa, Tempore, vel Naturâ. Sed quomodo, cùm ista sint temporalia, hæc æterna?—Si etiam ità esset, Deus aliquo Modo pateretur ab eis:—quare &, aliquo Modo, similiter, mutaretur. Quapropter & esset, quoquo Modo, inferior & ignobilior Rebus scitis. Item, tunc intellectus Divinus de se esset in Potentiâ et Indifferentiâ ad sciendum hoc, vel suum Oppositum; & actuaretur & determinaretur per aliud, sicut noster; & sic non esset Actus summus, nec primus.”* *Ibid.* Lib. 1. Cap. 15. p. 214, 215.

(f) “ *Sua [i. e. Dei] enim Scientia est Causa Entis: Ens autem nostræ scientiæ.—Sententia Aristotelis & Averrois est, Deum non intelligere aliud à se, à quo perficiatur, vel quod sit Causa Intellectionis Divinæ.”* *Ibid.* p. 215. E.

(g) *Ibid.* p. 217. D.

“*rable Revolutions of advancing and departing Ages; the Knowledge of God is neither lessened nor improved. No incident can possibly arise, which THOU didst not expect and foresee, who knowest all Things: and every created Nature is what it is, in consequence of thy knowing it as such (b).*”

We are not to suppose, that *Bradwardin* contended for what may be called, the mere Knowledge of God, nakedly and abstractedly considered. He asserted the Infinity, the Independency, and the Efficacy of the Divine KNOWLEDGE, as *FOUNDED on and RESULTING from* the Eternal Sovereignty, and Irresistibility, of the Divine WILL.. “The *Will* of God,” says he, “is universally efficacious and invincible, and necessitates as a Cause. It cannot be impeded, much less can it be defeated and made void, by any Means whatever (i).” What follows is extremely conclusive: “If you allow, 1. That God is able to do a Thing; and, 2. That He is willing to do a Thing; Then, 3. I affirm, That Thing will not, cannot, go unaccomplished. God either *does* it now, or will certainly do it at the destined Season. Otherwise, He must either lose His *Power*, or change His *Mind*. He is in Want of nothing that is requisite to carry His Purposes into Execution. Whence That Remark of the Philosopher: *He, that hath both WILL and POWER* “to

(b) “*Dicitque Petrus Lombardus, — Si scita essent Causæ Divinæ scientiæ, ipsa multa adjuvarent eum in sciendo, & darent sibi Consilium, & ostenderent illi agenda: & sic fatuus Homo, vel Asinus, esset Adjutor necessarius, Consiliarius, & Doctor Sapientissimi DEI nostri. — Item Augustinus: Universas autem Creaturas suas, spirituales & corporales, non, QUIA sunt, IDEÒ novit; sed IDEÒ SUNT, QUIA NOVIT: non enim nescivit, quæ fuerat creaturus. — Cùm decedant & succedant Tempora; non dececit aliquid, vel succedit, scientiæ Dei. — Quid improvifum Tibi, qui nosti omnia? Et nulla Natura est, nisi quia nosti eam.*” *Ibid.* p. 217, 218.

(i) “Nunc autem restat ostendere consequenter, quod Divina voluntas est universaliter efficax, insuperabilis, & necessaria in Causando:

“ to do a Thing, certainly DOETH that Thing (k).” Again :
 “ If the Will of God could be *frustrated* and *vanquished*,
 “ its Defeat would arise from the created Wills, either
 “ of Angels, or of Men. But, could *any* created Will
 “ whatever, whether Angelic or Human, counter-act and
 “ baffle the Will of God ; the Will of the Creature must
 “ be SUPERIOR, [either] in *Strength*, [or in *Wisdom*], to
 “ the Will of the Creator : which can by no Means be
 “ allowed (!).” The absolute *Immutability* of God effectually secures the infallible Accomplishment of His Will : whence our great English *Austin* justly observes, that
 “ Both the Divine *Knowledge*, and the Divine *Will*, are
 “ altogether unchangeable : since, was either One or the
 “ Other to undergo any Alteration, a Change must fall on
 “ God Himself (m).”

Perfuant to these Maxims, he affirms, that, “ *whatever*
 “ Things come to pass, they are brought to pass by the
 “ PROVIDENCE of God (n).” Nor could he suppose, that

Causando : non impedibilis, nec frustrabilis, ullo Modo.” *Lib.*
 1. *Cap.* 10 p. 195.

(k) “ Quis ergò nesciat, optimè consequi, si Deus *potest* aliquid facere, et *vult* aliquid facere, *facit* illud ; aut *faciet* pro Tempore destinato, *Potentiâ & Voluntate* manente : nihil enim Ei deest ad facere requisitum. Dicitque Philosophus, — *Si potuit, & voluit, egit : omnes enim, cum potentes velint, agunt.*” *Ibid.*

(l) “ Item, si voluntas Divina frustraretur ab aliquo, vel etiam vinceretur ; hoc maximè videretur à Voluntate creatâ, Ange icâ vel Humanâ. Ergò hæc Illam *excederet* in Virtute : Quod 1^{ma}. Suppositio non concedit.” *Ibid.*

(m) “ Post hæc autem reputo demonstrandum, quòd tam Scientia Dei, quàm ejus Voluntas, immutabilis sit omninò : Si enim Hæc mutaretur, vel illa, commutaretur necessariò Ipse Deus.” *Lib.*
 1. *Cap.* 23. p. 237.

(n) “ Volutio Dei est efficax, nec potest frustrari : patet ergò, omnia, quæ eveniunt, à Divinâ Providentiâ evenire.” *Lib.* 1.
Cap. 17 p. 261.

that the Great and Blessed God is, in Point of Wisdom, Fore-cast, and Attention, inferior even to a prudent
 “ Master of a Family, who takes Care of every Thing
 “ that belongs to him; and makes Provision beforehand,
 “ according to the best of his Knowledge and Power; and
 “ leaves nothing unregulated in his House, but exactly
 “ appoints the due Time and Place for every Thing (o).”

The Sentiments of this learned Writer, relative to the Doctrine of FATE, are too judicious and important, to be wholly passed over. “ We must,” says he, “ beyond all
 “ Doubt, admit, that there is such a Thing as a DIVINE
 “ FATE (p).” By a *Divine Fate*, he means, the *Decree* which God hath irrevocably pronounced, or spoken: for he seems to agree with Those who derive the Word *Fatum*, either à *fando*, or from *fiat*; i. e. from God’s speaking or commanding Things to be. Whence he adds: “ Is it not
 “ written, that, in the Beginning of the Creation, God
 “ said, FIAT Lux, LET THERE BE Light, and there was
 “ Light? Is it not written again, He spake and it was
 “ done? Now, that Divine Fate is chiefly a Branch of
 “ the Divine Will, which is the efficacious Cause of
 “ Things (q).” This seems to have been the real Sense, in which the Doctrine of (r) Fate was maintained by
 Those

(o) “ Item, bonus Pater familias omnia eum concernentia curat, & providet, quantum scit et potest; nec quicquam relinquit inordinatum in Domo, sed omnia suis Locis & Temporibus ordinat curiosè.” *Ibid.* p. 262. A.

(p) “ Fatum verò Divinum est procul dubio concedendum.” *Lib.*
 1. Cap. 28. p. 265. (q) *Ibid.*

(r) “ VIRGIL, in the Beginning of his *Æneid*, says, every thing
 “ that happened to his Hero was *Vi Superum*: and HOMER says,
 “ The Quarrel between *Achilles* and *Agamemnon*, with all its dire-
 “ ful Consequences, was by the Will of *Jove*. When CICERO
 “ says, *Reason obliges us to own that every Thing is done by Fate*;
 “ he means just the same by that Word [viz. Fate,] as Homer does
 “ by ΔΙΟΥ ΠΑΤΕΡ, and Virgil by his *Vi Superum*: FATUM est quod
 “ Dii FANTUR, vel quod Jupiter FATUR. Cic. de Div. 1. 55.”

Tindal’s Abridgment of Spence’s POLYMETIS. p. xxix.

Those of the Antients, who were truly wise and considerate. And, in *this* Sense, *Fate* is a *Christian Doctrine*, in the strictest Import of the Word *Christian*. Nay, set aside *Fate*, in *this* Meaning of it; and I cannot see, how either Natural or Reveled Religion can stand. St *Austin* was of the very same Mind. “All that *Connexion*,” says he, “and that *Train* of Causes, whereby every Thing is what it is; are by the *Stoics*, called *FATE*: the whole of which *Fate*, they ascribe to the *Will* and *Power* of the Supreme God, whom they most justly believe to fore-know all Things, and to leave *nothing* UN-OR-DAINED. But it is the *Will* itself of the Supreme God, which they are chiefly found to call by the Name of *Fate*; because the Energy of His Will is unconquerably extended through all Things (s).” Another passage of St *Austin*’s, quoted also by *Bradwardin*, is no less pertinent and judicious: “We are far from denying that *Train* of Causes, wherein the Will of God has the grand Sway. We avoid, however, giving it the Name of *Fate*; that is to say, UNLESS you derive the Word from *fando*. For we cannot but acknowledge, that it is written in the Scriptures, *God hath once SPOKEN*, and *these two Things have I heard, that Power belongeth unto God; and that Mercy is with Thee, for Thou wilt render to every Man according to his Works*. Now, whereas it is here said, that *God hath SPOKEN once*; the Meaning is, that He hath spoken *unchangeably* and *irreversibly*: even as He foreknew all Things that should come to pass, and the Things which He Himself would do.—The Kingdoms of Men are absolutely appointed by
“ Divine

(s) “*Stoici omnem Connexionem seriemque Causarum, quæ sit omne quod sit, Fatum appellant: quod totum Dei summi tribuunt Voluntati & Potestati, qui veracissimè creditur cuncta præscire, & nihil inordinatum relinquere. Sed ipsam præcipuè Dei summi Voluntatem, cujus Potestas insuperabiliter per cuncta porrigitur, Fatum appellare probantur.*” *Augustin.* apud *Bradwardin*, u. f.

“ Divine Providence. Which if any one is desirous, for
 “ that Reason, to attribute to *Fate*, meaning, by that
 “ Word, the *Will* or *Power* of God; let him HOLD FAST
 “ THE SENTIMENT, AND ONLY CORRECT THE
 “ PHRASE (*t*).”

Bradwardin observes, that *Fate* may be distinguished into
active and *passive*. “ *Active Fate* is no other than the De-
 “ claratory Decree, or pronounced Determination, of the
 “ Will of God, considered as the Disposer of all Things.
 “ *Passive Fate* may be taken, as the Term itself imports,
 “ for that subjective Effect and inherent Tendency, with
 “ which Things themselves are imbued, in Consequence
 “ and by Virtue of the aforesaid Pronounced Determina-
 “ tion (*u*).” He adds, from *Aristotle* and *Isidore*, that
 “ the Fable of the *Three Fates* is not without its Reality.
 “ *Atropos* denoted what is past; *Lachesis*, the future;
 “ *Clotho*, the present. But all the Three Names were
 “ only

(*t*) “ *Ordinem autem Causarum, ubi Voluntas Dei plurimum
 potest, neque negamus, neque Fati Vocabulo nuncupamus, nisi
 fortè ut Fatum à fando dictum intelligamus, id est, à loquendo. Non
 enim abnuere possumus esse scriptum in Literis sanctis, Semel lo-
 cutus est Deus, duo hæc audiui, quoniam Potestas Dei est; & tibi,
 Domine, Misericordia, quia tu reddes unicuique secundum Opera ejus.*
Quod enim dictum est, semel locutus; intelligitur, immobilitèr:
hoc est, incommutabilitèr est locutus. Sicut novit incommuta-
bilitèr omnia quæ futura sunt, & quæ Ipse facturus est.—Prorsus
Divinâ Providentiâ Regna constituuntur: quæ si proptereâ quis-
quam Fato tribuat, quia ipsam Dei Voluntatem vel Potestatem
Fati Nomine appellat; Sententiam teneat, Linguam corrigat.”

Idem, apud Eundem, u. f.

(*u*) “ *Adhuc autem est alia Distinctio à Fato bimembris. Uno
 enim Modo accipitur Fatum activè, pro Famine, seu Fatione,
 Voluntatis Divinæ, seu Dei omnia Disponentis. Alio Modo pas-*
sivè, sicut & Nomen magis sonat, pro Effectu & Dispositione
passivâ hujus Fati, ipsius Rebus dispositis inhærente.” Lib. & Cap.
u. f. p. 266.

“ only designed to shadow forth God Himself, as *Plato*
 “ strenuously affirms (x).”

The Speculations of the celebrated *Boëthius* (y), as cited by *Bradwardin*, on the Articles of *Providence* and *Fate*, are not unworthy of Perusal. Though far from unexceptionable, they are subtil and ingenious. “ PROVIDENCE
 “ is but another Name for *the Divine Wisdom* itself, which
 “ stands at the Helm of all Things, and by which all
 “ Things are regulated. On the other Hand, FATE is
 “ that inherent Disposition in Things themselves, by
 “ which Divine Providence concatenates all Things in
 “ their proper Successions and Dependencies. *Providence*
 “ comprehends all Things, together and at once, how-
 “ ever those Things may differ from each other, and
 “ however Infinite their Number may seem. But *Fate*
 “ reduces each particular Thing into actual Order, by a
 “ proper Distribution as to Motion, Place, Form, and
 “ Season: insomuch that, this actual Evolution of the

P

Series

(x) *Ibid.*

(y) *Boethius* was descended of one of the most noble Families in *Rome*. He studied, eighteen Years, at *Athens*: where, says Dr *Cave*, “ *Omnium Artium, omnium Disciplinarum, non modò*
 “ *Elementa, sed et reconditiora Mysteria, penitus imbibit:*” insomuch that he was deemed the *Prince of Scholars*. In the Year 487, he was sole Consul of *Rome*. After a Life, strangely variegated with Prosperity and Affliction, this great Man fell a Sacrifice to the Tyranny of *Theodoric*, and was beheaded in Prison, at *Pavia*, A.D. 524. During his Exile to this Place, he wrote his Book on the *Trinity*; and during his Imprisonment, he composed his Treatise on the *Consolation of Philosophy*: which latter was so admired by our matchless King *Alfred*, that he used constantly to carry it about him. This illustrious Linguist, Philosopher, and Poet, was interred at *Pavia*, in the Church of *St Austin*, under the following Epitaph:

Mæoniâ & Latîâ Linguâ clarissimus, & qui

Consul eram, hic perii, missus in Exilium.

Et quid Mors rapuit? Probitas me vexit ad Auras:

Et nunc Fama viget maxima, vivit Opus.

See *Cave*, *Dupin*, &c.

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“ Series of Causes (which Evolution is temporary, or
 “ brought to pass in Time), may be termed *Providence*,
 “ if considered as united and gathered to a Point in the
 “ Divine View. This simple connected View of all Futu-
 “ rities, which is a Perfection essential to The Uncreated
 “ Mind, may also be called *Fate*; if you consider that
 “ View as gradually opened and unfolded in the several
 “ Successions of Time: for, though Fate and Providence
 “ are not strictly the same, yet the former is dependent
 “ on the latter. That Series of Causes and Effects, which
 “ is ordered by Fate, takes its Rise from the Simplicity of
 “ Providence. As some curious Artificer first forms, in
 “ his own Mind, a *Design* or *Plan* of the Piece of Work-
 “ manship he intends to make, and THEN begins to take
 “ the Work itself in Hand; carrying into Execution,
 “ through a regular and successive Progress, the Idea which
 “ he had, before, simply and readily modeled: so God,
 “ by his *Providence*, orders and settles, particularly and
 “ firmly, the Things that are to be accomplished; and,
 “ by *Fate*, manages, in all their Multiplicity and tempo-
 “ rary Successions, the Things so ordered and settled.
 “ Whether, therefore, Fate be rendered actually operative
 “ by the Ministry of those unembodied Spirits, who are
 “ the Servants and Executors of Divine Providence; or
 “ by the human Mind; or by the whole Concurrence of
 “ subservient Nature; or by the Motions of the celestial
 “ Orbs; or by the Power of the good Angels; or by
 “ the manifold Subtlety of Dæmons; whether the Chain
 “ of *Fate* be complicated by Any or All of These; thus
 “ much is certainly evident, that God’s PROVIDENCE is
 “ the pure, immovable Model, according to which, Mat-
 “ ters are conducted: and that FATE is the movable Con-
 “ nection, and temporary Train, or Series, of those Things
 “ which the Divine Providence hath appointed to be ac-
 “ complished. And from hence it is, that all Things,
 “ which are subjected to *Fate*, are likewise subjected to

Providence:

“ *Providence*: for Providence is the supreme Regulatress, to which Fate itself acts in Subserviency (z).”

Thus far *Boethius*. The Reader, perhaps, will be inclinable, with me, to ask, What Need of laboring the Point so nicely? To what End, is the Thread so finely spun? One Thing, however, is plain: viz. that, by *Providence*, he understood God’s eternal *Forefight*; and, by *Fate*, that temporary Disposure of Events, which we now call *Providence* (a). To the former, he might be induced by the

P 2

literal

(z) *Providentia* est ipsa Divina Ratio, in summo omnium principe constituta, quæ cuncta disponit: *Fatum* verò, inhærens Rebus mobilibus Dispositio, per quam Providentia suis quæque necesse Ordinibus. Providentia namque cuncta paritèr, quamvis diversa, quamvis infinita, complectitur: *Fatum* verò singula digerit, in Motu, Locis, Formis, ac Temporibus distributa; ut hæc temporalis Ordinis Explicatio, in Divinæ Mentis adunata Prospectu, Providentia sit: eadem verò Adunatio, digesta atque explicata Temporibus, *Fatum* vocetur; Quæ, licèt diversa sint, alterum tamen pendet ex altero. Ordo namque Fatalis ex Providentiæ Simplicitate procedit. Sicut enim Artifex, faciendæ Rei Formam Mente percipiens, movet operis effectum; & quod simpliciter, præsentarièque prospexerat, per temporales Ordines ducit; Ità Deus *Providentiâ* quidem singularitèr, Stabilitèrque, disponit faciendâ: *Fato* verò hæc ipsa, quæ disposuit, multipliciter ac temporalitèr administrat. Sive igitur, famulantibus quibusdam Providentiæ Divinæ Spiritibus, *Fatum* exercetur; seu Animâ; seu totâ inserviente Naturâ; seu Cœlestibus Siderum Motibus; seu Angelicâ Virtute; seu Dæmonum variâ Solertiâ; seu aliquibus horum, seu omnibus, FATALIS SERIES textitur; illud certè manifestum est, immobilem simplicemque gerendarum Formam Rerum esse Providentiam: *Fatum* verò eorum, quæ Divina Simplicitas gerenda disposuit, mobilem Nexum, atque Ordinem temporalem. Quo fit, ut omnia, quæ *Fato* subsunt, *Providentiæ* que subiecta sunt: cui etiam ipsum quoque subiacet *Fatum*.” *Boethius*, apud *Bradward*. L. & C. u. f.

(a) The folio Edition of *Bailey’s Dictionary* has a Paragraph (under the Word *Fate*,) in which it is observed, that “*Fate* primarily implies the same with *Effatum*, a Word, or Decree pronounced

ced

literal Import of the Word Providence. If I rightly remember, *Cicero*, somewhere, shews himself of the same Mind, and assigns that very Reason for it.—It should also be noticed, that, according to *Boethius's* Doctrine, the Divine Fore-knowledge is not a naked, idle Speculation of what barely *would* come to pass; but is tantamount to an operative, effective Determination of what *certainly shall* come to pass. For he supposes absolute *Fate* itself to be no more than a subordinate Administrator, whose Business it is, to see, that all *Events* exactly correspond to that active *Knowledge* of them which God had from everlasting. He expresses this, very clearly, in another subsequent Passage, quoted by *Bradwardin*, wherein he reciprocates the Terms Providence and Fate: “This series of Fate, or Providence, tightly binds down the Actions and Circumstances of Men, by an INDISSOLUBLE CONCATENATION OF CAUSES (b).” To this *Bradwardin* himself heartily accedes, in a remarkable Paragraph, adopted from *St Austin*: “Our Wills have just so much Ability, as God *willed* and *foreknew* they should have. Consequently, they cannot avoid being indued with whatever Ability they possess; and what they *are* to do, they absolutely *shall* do: for, both their Ability and their
“ Works

“ *ed by God*; or, a *fixed Sentence*, whereby the Deity has prescribed the order of Things, and allotted every Person what shall befall him. The Greeks call it *επιταγή*, as though a *Chain*, or necessary Series of Things, indissolubly linked together: and the Moderns call it *Providence*.” The *Folio* Editors of the above Work endeavor to explain away this judicious Passage. But it is no Wonder, that a Set of Men, who are for excluding the Son and Spirit of God from the divine Essence, should be for expunging Predestination and its correlative Articles from the Christian Creed.

(b) “*Hæc Fati Series, seu Providentia, Aclus Fortunæque Hominum indissolubili Causarum Connexione constringit.*” *Boeth.* apud *Eund.* p. 267.

“ Works were foreknown of God, WHOSE FORE-
 “ KNOWLEDGE CANNOT BE DECEIVED (c).”

What *Bradwardin* professedly delivers, concerning the Subjection of our most *voluntary* Actions to the Decrees and Providence of God ; what he adds, concerning the Co-incidence of *Permission*, and *Design* ; with several other correlative Points of Religious Metaphysics ; I purposely omit : not for Want of Inclination, but of Room. I shall, therefore, for the present, conclude my Extract from his Testimony, with a short Sample, or two, of what he hath advanced, concerning *Predestination* itself, the Powers of *Freewill*, and the *Perseverance* of the Saints.

Predestination is the only Ground, on which the Divine *Fore-knowledge* and *Providence* can stand. Abstracted from the Will and Purpose of God, neither Persons, nor Things, nor Events, could have any certain Futurition : consequently, they could not be certainly fore-knowable. And Providence must regulate every Punctilio of its Dispen-sations, by the same preconstructed Plan ; or it would follow, that God is liable to unforeseen Emergencies, and acts either ignorantly, or contrary to his own Will. The great *Bradwardin* was so clearly and deeply convinced of This, that he defines *Predestination* to be (what in Reality it is) neither more nor less than “ *Æterna Prævolutio*
 “ *Dei, sive Præ-ordinatio Voluntatis Divinæ, circa futurum* :
 “ God’s eternal Prevolition, or Predetermination of his
 “ Will, respecting what shall come to pass (d).” He treats the mysterious Articles of *Election* and *Reprobation* in particular, with such Force and Compass of Argument, united with such Modesty and Judgment, as may, alone,

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suffice

(c) “ Quapropter et Voluntates nostræ tantum valent, quantum Deus eas valere voluit atque præscivit. Et ideo, quicquid valent, CERTISSIME valent ; et quod facturæ sunt, ipsæ OMNINO facturæ sunt : quia valituras ac facturas ILLE præscivit, cujus Præscientia falli non potest.” *Augustin. apud Eund. ibid.*

(d) Lib. 1. Cap. 45. p. 421.

suffice to class him among the ablest Reasoners that ever wrote.

On the Subject of Liberty and Necessity, he acknowledges that there is such a Thing (*e*) as *Free-will* in God's Reasonable Creatures: and, I believe, every Calvinist upon Earth acknowledges the same. The Point, in dispute between us and the Arminians, is, not concerning the *Existence* of *Free-will*; but concerning its *Powers*. That Man is naturally endued with a *Will*, we never denied: and that Man's Will is naturally *free* to what is morally and spiritually Evil, we always affirmed. The grand Hinge, then, on which the Debate turns, is, *Whether Free-will* BE, or be NOT, a faculty of SUCH Sovereignty and Power, as either to RATIFY, or to BAFFLE, the saving Grace of God, according to its [i. e. according to the Will's] OWN independent Pleasure and Self-determination? I should imagine, that every Man of Sense, Piety, and Reflection, must, at once, determine this Question in the *negative*. If some do not, who are nevertheless possessed of those Qualifications; I can only stand amazed at the Force of that Prejudice, which can induce any reasonable and religious Person to suppose that Divine Wisdom is frustrable, and the Divine Power defeatable, by Creatures of Yesterday, who are *absolutely* and *constantly* dependent on God for their very *Being* (and, consequently, for the whole of their *Operations*) from Moment to Moment.

Bradwardin believed, that the Human *Will*, however *free* in its Actings, is not altogether exempt from *Necessity*. He supposed, that what the *Understanding* regards as Good, the *Will* must *necessarily* desire; and what the *Understanding* represents as Evil, the *Will* must necessarily disapprove (*f*). A Remark this, not spun from the subtilties of Metaphysics; but founded in Fact, and demonstrable from every Man's own hourly Experience. The *Will*, therefore, is no other than the practical Echo of the *Understanding*:

(*e*) Lib. 2. Cap. 1.

(*f*) Lib. 2. Cap. 2. per totum.

Understanding: and is so far from being endued with a *self-determining Power*, or with a *Freedom of Indifference* to This or That; that it closes in with the Dictates of the *Intellect*, as naturally, as necessarily, and as implicitly, as an Eastern Slave accommodates his Obedience to the Commands of the Grand Seignor. As the Understanding is, thus, the Directress of the Will; so, ten thousand different Circumstances concur to influence and direct the Understanding: which latter is altogether as *passive*, in her Reception of Impressions from without, as she is sometimes active in her subsequent Contemplation and Combination of them.—It follows, that if the *Understanding* (from which the Will receives its Byass,) be thus liable to passive, subjective Necessity; the *Will* itself, which is absolutely governed by a Faculty so subject to Necessitation, cannot possibly be possessed of *that Kind* of Freedom, which the Arminian Scheme supposes her to be: since, if she was, the Hand-maid would be above her Mistress; and uncontrollable Sovereignty would be the immediate Offspring of constringent Necessity. Hence *Bradwardin* observes, that the Human Will cannot so much as conquer a single Temptation, even after God's regenerating Power has passed upon the Soul, *sine ALIO Dei Auxilio speciali* (g), "without a FRESH Supply of God's particular Assistance:" which *particular Assistance* he defines to be, *Voluntas Dei invicta* (h), the supernatural Influence, resulting from the unconquerable Will of God: "Armed with which, his tempted Children get the better of every Temptation; but destitute of which, every Temptation gets the better of them (i)."

And, indeed, was not this the Case, "The Number of the Elect and Predestinate would," as *Bradwardin* nervously argues, "depend more on Man than upon God.

P 4

"Men,

(g) Lib. 2. Cap. 5. per totum.

(h) Ibid. Cap. 6.

(i) "Quo tentati omnia superant Tentamenta; & sine quo, in omnibus superantur." Cap. 6. p. 489.

“ Men, by antecedently and causally disposing their own
 “ Wills to This or That ; would leave God no more to
 “ do, than to regulate his after-Decrees in a subservient
 “ Conformity to the prior Determinations of his Crea-
 “ tures, and in a Way of Subjection and Subordination
 “ to *their* Will and Pleasure (*k*) :” than which Supposition,
 nothing can be more impious and irrational. Besides, as
 he presently adds, if Free-will was possessed of these enor-
 mous Powers, “ It would be vain and idle in a Man to
 “ *pray* to God for Victory over Temptation, or to give
 “ Him *Thanks* for Victory obtained (*l*).” When Free-
 willers kneel down to petition God for any spiritual Bless-
 ing, what is such Conduct, but a virtual Renuntiation of
 their own distinguishing Tenet? And, on the Footing
 of that Tenet, what an unmeaning Service is the Ascrip-
 tion of *Praise* !

Quæsitam Meritis fume Superbiam.

Away with Prayer. Away with Thanksgiving. Neither
 the one, nor the other, has any reasonable Pretext to
 keep it in Countenance, on the Principles of *Pelagius* and
Arminius. The whole lower Creation cannot exhibit a
 more glaring Example of Human Inconsistency, than a
 Free-willer on his Knees.

Bradwardin was not less clear on the important Article
 of FINAL PERSEVERANCE. According to him, this
 crowning Grace is the Gift of God alone : “ When
 “ *David* prayed thus for his devout Subjects, *O Lord*
 “ *God, preserve this Will of their Heart forever, and grant*
 “ *that their Inclination to thy Fear may CONTINUE in*
 “ *them*

(*k*) “ *Secundùm Data* [scil. *Pelagiana*,] *Homines magis dis-*
 “ *ponunt electos & prædestinatos in Numero, quàm faciat Deus*
 “ *ipse : nam antecedentèr & causalitèr quia Homines disponunt*
 “ *Voluntates suas, hoc Modo, vel illo ; ideò Deus, subservientèr*
 “ *& subexecutivè, disponit Numerum Electorum tantum vel tan-*
 “ *tum.*” P. 480.

(*l*) “ *Vanum esset orare Deum, ut Tentationem aliquam supe-*
 “ *raret : vanum esset, pro Tentationis Victoriâ, Gratias agere,*
 “ *Domino Deo nostro.*” *Ibid.*

“ *them* (m); what was this; but a Prayer for their Ultimate Perseverance? and why did he *ask* it of God, if it is not the Gift of God, but acquirable by every Man’s own Powers (n)? ” To which the Evangelical Prelate adds: “ As *David* besought God, for the Perseverance of his own religious Subjects; so also the Lord CHRIST, our mystic *David*, besought God the Father in Behalf of His own People, saying, *Holy Father*, PRESERVE in thy own Name Those whom Thou hast GIVEN unto me (o). ” Quoting that Passage, *Jer.* xxxii. 37—40. he thus descants: “ Hence it is evident, that both a Departure from Evil, and a final Continuance in Good to the End of our Days, by Virtue of that everlasting Covenant which secures us against revolting from the Lord, which is what we mean by the Phrase of *Perseverance to the End*; neither takes its Rise from, nor is carried on by, Man: but from and by God himself. For which Reason, *St Austin*, in his Treatise concerning the Blessing of Perseverance, observes, that, in the above Passage of Scripture, God promises Perseverance to his People, saying, *I will put my Fear into their Hearts, that THEY SHALL NOT DEPART from me*. What is this (saith *Austin*,) but to affirm, *The Fear* “ which

(m) 1 *Chron.* xxix. 18. Our English Translation renders it thus: O Lord God,—keep this FOREVER in the Imagination of the Thoughts of the Heart of thy People, and prepare [the Margin reads, *stablish*] their Hearts unto Thee.

(n) “ Sanctus quoque *David*, 1 paralip. Ult. sic orans Dominum pro Populo sibi devoto, *Domine Deus*, custodi in æternum hanc Voluntatem Cordis eorum, & semper in Venerationem Tui Mens ista permaneat; quid aliud petit, quàm PERSEVERANTIAM CONSUMMATAM? Et cur eam petebat à Deo, si non daretur ab eo, sed unusquisque propriis Viribus illam posset habere? ” *Lib.* 2. Cap. 8. p. 492.

(o) “ Sicut ille *David*, pro Perseverantiâ Populi sui, Deum oravit; sic et *David* noster Dominus CHRISTUS pro Populo suo Deum Patrem oravit: *Pater*, inquit, *serua eos in Nomine tuo, quos dedisti mihi.* ” *Ibid.*

“ which I will put into their Hearts, shall be such, and so
 “ great, that they shall PERSEVERINGLY adhere to me (p) ?”

It is now Time for me to take my unwilling Leave of *Bradwardin*, and put an End to this long Section, by just dropping a Word,

V. Concerning that illustrious Nobleman and Martyr, Sir *John Oldcastle*, the good Lord *Cobham*. No one, who is at all acquainted with English History, need be informed, that this great and Excellent Person fell a Sacrifice, in Reality, to the Rage of the *Romish* Ecclesiastics; whose Hatred he had incurred, by the Purity of his Religious Principles, and by the honest Boldness with which he asserted them. King *Henry V.* notwithstanding his political Maxim, of keeping fair with the Church, at all Events; would, probably, never have gratified her with a Victim of such high Rank, and for whom he had a great personal Regard; if some Churchmen of that Age had not trumped up a Charge of *Treason* against Lord *Cobham*: when, all the while, his real Crime, in their Eye, was *Herefy*. The Princes of the House of *Lancaster* could not but be perfectly conscious that their Possession of the Throne was founded on manifest Usurpation. This rendered them extremely suspicious of their Subjects; and induced them to avenge, with Severity, every Measure that seemed to threaten the smallest Approaches of a Revolution. The Papists availed themselves

(p) “ Unde claret, quòd tam Reditio à malo, quàm Perman-
 “ sio in bono finalitèr, scilicèt, universis Diebus; Pacto semp-
 “ terno ut nunquam recedatur à Domino, quæ est Perseverantia
 “ usque in Finem; non est sufficientèr nec antecedentèr ab Ho-
 “ mine, sed à Deo. Unde et *Augustinus*, De Bono Perseverantia,
 “ 2. eandem conclusionem per eandem Autoritatem ostendit: Hanc
 “ enim, inquires, scilicèt, Perseverantiam, promisit Deus, dicens,
 “ TIMOREM MEUM DABO IN COR EORUM, UT A ME NON RECE-
 “ DANT. Quod quid est aliud, quàm quod talis ac tantus erit Timor
 “ meus, quem dabo in Cor eorum, ut mihi perseverantèr adhaereant ?”
 Ibid. p. 493.

selves of this Circumstance, in the Case of Lord *Cobham*. The King, though displeased at this Nobleman's Abhorrence of Popery, was not, perhaps, sorry to hear of his Escape from the Tower: as that Incident extricated his Majesty from the painful Alternative of either offending the Church, by pardoning *Cobham* in Form; or of resigning a victorious General and faithful Subject to the Flames, in order to satisfy a Sett of Men who were, in Reality, but so many dead Weights on the Wheel of civil Government. But the Ecclesiastics would not quit their Prey so easily. Some Time after Lord *Cobham's* Escape from the Tower, about 100 *Wickliffites* (or, as they were then called, *Lollards*) were assembled, for the Purposes of Devotion, in *St Giles's Fields*; at that Time, an uncultivated Tract of Ground, overgrown with Bushes and Trees (q). The good People were then obliged by Persecution either entirely to forego all religious Meetings, or to hold them in such sequestered Places as those.

This innocent Assembly was not conducted with the intended Secresy. The Papists gained Intelligence of it, and alarmed the King (who was keeping Christmas at *Eltham*) with Information, that a Number of *Lollards*, to the Amount of at least 20,000, with Lord *Cobham* at their Head, were rendezvoused in *St Giles's Fields*, with a View to exterminate the reigning Family. The jealous King gave implicit Credit to the false Representation: and, repairing, at Midnight, to the Place, with such Forces as he could hastily collect; found about 80 Persons met together. Some were immediately slaughtered by the Soldiers. About 60 were taken Prisoners: of whom, 34 were afterwards hanged, and seven hanged and burned.

I mention this pretended Conspiracy, because it sealed the Doom of Lord *Cobham*. Though he was not so much as present at the above Meeting, "A Bill of Attainder" passed against him, a Reward of a Thousand Marks
" was

(q) *Complete Hist. of Engl.* Vol. 1. p. 311.

“ was set on his Head, and a perpetual Exemption from
 “ Taxes promised to any Town that should secure him (r).”
 After a Concelement of nigh four Years, the attainted Peer
 was apprehended in *Montgomeryshire*, and conveyed to
London; where he received Sentence of Death. He was
 executed in *St Giles’s Fields*, on Christmas Day, Decem-
 ber 25, 1417. Nothing could be more cruel, than the
 Mode of his Sufferings. All Historians agree, that he was
 burned hanging. *Echard* says, that he was suspended over
 the Fire, by an Iron Chain, fastened round his Middle (s).
 The Plate, in *Mr Fox*, represents him as hanging, with
 his Back downward, by three Chains: the first fastened
 to his Middle, by an Iron Hoop; the second, to his right
 Thigh; the other to his Neck (t).

We have very little remaining of what was written by
 the Noble Martyr. His two Confessions of Faith, which
 occur in *Fox*, were evidently so worded, as to give no
 more Offence to the Times, than was absolutely neces-
 sary: a Precaution, which, however, did not save the
 Life of their Author. I therefore rest the Evidence of his
 probable Calvinism, on the known Calvinism of *Wickliff*.
 I have already proved, that *Wickliff* carried the Doctrines
 of Predestination and Grace to a very great Length: nor
 is it likely, that Lord *Cobham* should have been so devoted
 an Admirer of *Wickliff*, as he certainly was; nor have
 put himself to the Labor, Expence, and Danger, of tran-
 scribing and dispersing the Writings of that Reformer,
 with such Zeal and Industry, as he certainly did; had he
 differed from *Wickliff* on Points which so materially affect
 the whole System of Protestantism. A very judicious Writer
 affirms, that Lord *Cobham* “ Caused ALL the Works of
 “ *Wickliff* to be WROTE OUT and DISPERSED in *Bobemia*,
 “ *France*,

(r) *Biograph. Dict.* Vol. 12. p. 278.

(s) *Echard’s Hist. of Engl.* Vol. 1. p. 455.

(t) *Acts and Mon.* Vol. 1. p. 731.

“*France, Spain, Portugal, and other Parts of Europe (u).*” Which, I should imagine, he would no more have done, had he not adopted Wickliff’s Plan of Doctrine ; than the Vicar of *Broad Hembury* would be at the Pains and Cost of reprinting and dispersing the Lucubrations of Mr *John Wesley*.

Indeed, the Principles of all *Wickliff*’s Disciples appear, so far as I have been able to find, highly Calvinistical. Take one Specimen in lieu of many.

About the Year 1391, during the Reign of *Richard II.* a Letter of Expostulation, written, by a Lollard, to one *Nicolas Hereford* (who had apostatized from Wickliffism to Popery), has the two following Paragraphs : “ No Perversion of any *Reprobate*,” says the pious Expostulator, “ is able to turn the Congregation of the *Elect* from the Faith : because all Things that shall come to pass, are eternally, in God, devised and ordained for the best unto the *elect* Christians.—Like as the *Mystical Body* of Christ is the Congregation of all the ELECT ; so Antichrist, mystically, is the Church of the Wicked and of all the *Reprobates (x).*” So true is it, that the Doctrine of Absolute Predestination was held and maintained by the very first Protestants, long before the actual Establishment of that Doctrine at the Reformation.

SECTION XI.

The Charge of MAHOMETANISM refuted.

THE Reader may, if he pleases, consider himself as entered, at present, on a Kind of Historical Voyage. Mr *Sellon* pretends to think, that We are in full Sail for *Constantinople* ; and that Calvinism is at once the Compass

by

(u) *Roll's Lives of the Reformers*, p. 15.

(x) *Fox's Acts and Mon.* Vol. 1. p. 574.

by which we steer, and the Breeze by which we are carried, plump into the Grand Seignor's Harbor. *Predestination*, and the *inclinabilis Ordo Rerum*, are, according to this sage Arminian Geographer, situate only in the Latitude of *Mahomet*: and every Man, who believes, with Scripture, that God *worketh all Things after the Counsel of his own Will*; and, with our Church, that *all Things, both in Heaven and Earth, are ordered by a never-failing Providence*; every Man, who thus believes, is, in my redoubtable Adversary's Estimation, a *Mahometan*.

I must acknowledge, that such a contemptible Cavil as this, is too low and ridiculous to merit a single Moment's Attention. However, as it *has* been urged, formerly, by the wretched Authors of *Calvino-Turcismus* (y); and now repeted, with an Air of seeming Seriousness, by Mr *John Wesley's* Advocate; I beg permission of my Readers, to touch at *Constantinople* in earnest: not with a View to stay there for good, but just to look about us, and determine, for ourselves, whether *Calvinism* and *Mahometanism* are the same, or not.

Dean

(y) A Book was published, under this Title, at *Antwerp*, in the Year 1569, and again at *Cologne*, in 1603. It was the Joint-work of two English Papists (*William Reynolds* and *William Gifford*,) who had fled their Country. Its Drift was, to prove the *Conformity of Calvinism and Mahometanism*. *Gifford*, who finished and published it, was a Priest: and had several Times encouraged some Assassins to murder Queen *Elizabeth*.—To the above Book, the Learned Dr *Sutcliffe*, Dean of *Exeter*, published an Answer: the Title to which, ran thus; *De Turco-Papismo*, &c. i. e. “Of
 “ the *Mahometan Popery*: or a Treatise of the Conspiracy of *Turks*
 “ and *Papists* against the Church and Faith of *CHRIST*; of their
 “ Agreement and Resemblance in Religion and Morals. To
 “ which are added, Four Books concerning the Slanders and
 “ Calumnys of the *Mahometan-Papists*: in Answer to that most
 “ defamatory Libel, entitled, *Mahometan Calvinism*, written by
 “ *William Gifford*, a notorious and vile Flatterer of the Popes
 “ and Jesuits.” See *Bayle*, Vol. 5. Art. *Sutcliffe*.

Dean *Prideaux* shall set us on Shore. This learned Historian observes, that the Religion of *Mahomet* is “made up of *three* Parts : whereof One was borrowed from the *Jews*, another from the *CHRISTIANS*, and the Third from the *Heathen Arabs* (z).” A whole *Third*, then, of the *Mahometan* System, is neither more nor less than *Christianity* at second Hand. But shall we *therefore* disclaim a dozen or twenty Articles of our Christian Creed, *because* those Articles were adopted by *Mahomet*? What a prodigious Gap such absurd Conduct would make in our Confession of Faith, may be easily judged of, from the ensuing Specimen.

“ The first Doctrine that Mahomet propagated among them [i. e. among his Followers at *Mecca*,] was, That *there is but ONE God*, and that *He ONLY is to be worshipped* : and that all *Idols* were to be taken away, and their *Worship* utterly abolished (a).

“ He allowed both *the OLD and the NEW Testament*; and that *Moses* and *JESUS CHRIST* were *Prophets sent from God* (b).

“ They [i. e. the *Mahometans*] own that there are *Angels*, Executioners of God’s Commands, designed for certain Offices both in Heaven and Earth (c).

“ They believe a general *Resurrection* of the Dead (d).

“ They hold both a *general Judgment*, and a *particular one* [at Death (e).]

“ If a Person ask, *Why God hath created the Infidels and Wicked*? Their Answer is, That we ought not to be over-curious to search into the Secrets of God (f).

“ The Morals of the Mahometans consist in doing *Good*, and shunning *Evil* (g).

“ Their

(z) *Prideaux’s Life of Mahomet*, p. 49. Edit. 1713.

(a) *Prideaux*, *ibid.* p. 17.

(b) *Prideaux*, *ibid.* p. 19.

(c) *Great Hist. Diet.* under the Word *Mahometanism*.

(d) *Ibid.*

(e) *Ibid.*

(f) *Ibid.*

(g) *Ibid.*

“ Their Casuists hold, That Actions, done *without Faith* in God, are *Sins* (b).

“ They forbid to judge of uncertain Things ; because it doth not belong to us to judge of the Things which God hath concealed from us (i).

“ Their Devotion extends even to the Sacred *Names*. When they pronounce the Name of GOD, they make a Bow ; and add, Most High, Most Blessed, Most Strong, Most Excellent, or some such Epithet (k).”

“ The Mahometans *tolerate* all Religions (l).

“ They are commanded to *pray*, at the appointed Times : And to give *Alms* (m).”

“ They hold an *Heaven* and *Hell* (n).

“ Mahomet forbad *Adultery* to his Followers (o).

“ They assert the *Immortality* of the Soul (p).”

Among the Maxims of the *Alcoran*, are ; “ Forgive those who have offended thee. Do Good to all (q).”

Now, would any reasonable Christian strike out these Articles from his Creed, only because *Mahomet* has inserted them in *his* ? And does it follow, that the most respectable Persons in the World, who are influenced by these excellent Principles of Faith and Practice, are, for that Reason, to be dubbed *Mahometans* ? But the plain Truth is, Mr *Sellon* knows no more of *Constantinople*, than he does of *Geneva*. He is equally unacquainted with the *real* Systems both of *Turcism* and *Christianity*. Even a superficial Survey of his Subject would have sufficed to inform him

(b) Ibid.

(i) Ibid.

(k) Ibid.

(l) *Salmon's Geogr. Gram.* p. 431.

(m) *Salmon*, *ibid.* p. 437.

(n) *Martin's Philolog. Library*, p. 85.

(o) *Martin*, *ibid.* p. 86.

(p) *Martin*, *ibid.*

(q) *Voltaire's Essay on Universal Hist.* Vol. 1. p. 44. Dr *Nugent's* Edition, 1761.

him, that “ The Questions, relating to *Predestination* and “ *Free Grace*, have been agitated, among the *Mahometan* “ Doctors, with as much Heat and Vehemence, as ever “ they were in *Christendom*(r).” The *Mahometans* have their sort of *Arminians*, no less than we. If Mr *Sellon* asks, “ *How goes the Stream of Doctrines at CONSTANTINOPLE?*” I also can ask, in my Turn, *How goes the Stream at ISPAHAN?* If the Mahometan *Turks*, of the Sect of *Omar*, believe an absolute *Predestination* and *Providence*; it is no less certain, that the Mahometan *Persians*, of the Sect of *Hali*, deny *Predestination*, and assert *Free-will*, with as much outrageous Fervor, as Mr *John Wesley* himself can do. But shall I from thence infer, that Mr *Wesley* is a *Mahometan*? I cannot, in Justice, pay the Mahometans so bad a Compliment. I rather say to Mr *Wesley*, what the Excellent Mr *Hervey* said to him long ago, “ Before you turn “ *Turk*, or *Deist*, or *Atheist*, see that you first become “ an HONEST Man. They will all disown you, if you “ go over to their Party, destitute of Common *Honesty*. “ Out of Zeal to demolish the Doctrine of *Election*, you “ scruple not to overleap the Bounds of *Integrity* and “ *Truth*(s).”

After all, there is *not* that Conformity between the *Christian* and the *Turkish* Doctrine of *Predestination*, which Mr *Wesley* and his Consistory would have us believe. Do Mahometans assert an *Election in Christ to Grace and Glory*? Do they maintain, that, in the Pre-ordination of Events, the Means are no less pre-ordained, than the End? Do they consider the Son of God, as joint-Agent with His Father, in the *Providential* Disposure of all Things below? Do they hold the *Eternal Covenant of Grace*, which obtained among the Persons of the Godhead, in Behalf, and for the Salvation, of a peculiar People, who shall, by the regenerating Efficacy of the Holy Ghost, be made zealous of

Q

good

(r) *Brown's Travels*, p. 361.

(s) *Hervey's Eleven Letters to Wesley*, p. 285.

good Works? Do the Mahometans believe any Thing about *Final Perseverance*, and the Inamissibility of saving Grace? No such Thing. I can easily *prove* their Denial of these Gospel Doctrines, whenever that Proof shall be necessary. And even as to the *Predestination of temporal Events*, the Disciples of *Omar* (so far as I can hitherto find, and unless their Doctrine be greatly mis-represented) seem to have exceeding gross and confused Ideas. They appear to consider Predestination as a sort of blind, rapid, over-bearing Impetus, which, right or wrong, with Means or without, carries all Things violently before it, with little or no Attention to the peculiar and respective Nature of second Causes. Whereas, according to the *Christian Scheme*, Predestination forms a wise, regular, connected Plan: and Providence conducts the Execution of it, in such a Manner, as to assign their due Share of Importance to the correlative Means; and secure the Certainty both of Means and End, without violating or forcing the Intellectual Powers of any one rational Agent.

I have already scrupled to enrol Mr *Wesley* himself on the List of *Mussulmen*. Some of his *Tenets*, however, are so nearly related to the *worst* Branches of the *Mahometan System*, that he might very readily be mistaken, at first Sight, for a Disciple of *Hali*. Survey the dark Side of *Mahometism*; and you will almost aver, that the Portrait was intended for the *Mufti* of Moor-Fields.

“ The Mahometans would have us believe, that he
 “ [viz. *Mahomet*] was a Saint, from the fourth Year of
 “ his Age: for then, say they, the Angel *Gabriel* took
 “ him from among his Fellows, while at Play with them;
 “ and carrying him aside, cut open his Breast, and took out
 “ his Heart, and wrung out of it that BLACK DROP of
 “ Blood, in which (say they) was contained the *Fomes*
 “ *Peccati*: so that he had none of it ever after (t).”—So
 much for Mahomet’s *sinless Perfection*.

“ They

“ They hold it unlawful to drink Wine; and to play
“ at Chefs, Tables, Cards, or such-like *Recreations* (u).

“ They esteem Good Works *meritorious* of Heaven (x).

“ Some will be honored for their *Abstinence*, in eating
“ and drinking sparingly and seldom. Some profess *Po-*
“ *verty*, and will enjoy no earthly Things. Others brag
“ of *Revelations*, *Visions*, and *Enthusiasms*. Some are for
“ *Traditions*, and *Merits*, by which [they suppose] Salva-
“ tion is obtained, and NOT BY GRACE (y).”—How easy
would it be, to run the Parallel between *Mahometans* and
some other Folks! I must, however, partly acquit Mr *Wesley*
of Mahometism, on the Head of *Recreations*: for, in a cer-
tain *Two-penny Extract* from somebody else, published in
the Year 1767, Mr *Wesley* recommends the recreating Ex-
ercise of *Battle-dore* and *Shuttle-cock*, together with That
of the *Wooden Horse*.

Beside the above Articles, the *Mahometans* hold, that there
is a *Third*, or *Middle Place*, for the Reception of some *de-*
parted Souls (z).

They deny the *Perpetuity of Faith*: believing, that
“ Whosoever renounceth it, loseth the Merit of all his
“ Good Works; and that, during all that Time, he can do
“ nothing acceptable to God, until he hath repented: and
“ then he becomes a Mussulman, or Faithful, again (a).”

Their *Dervises* “ live a very retired and *auflere* Life;
“ going bare-foot, with a Leathern Girdle round their
“ Bodies, full of sharp Points, to *mortify* the Flesh (b).”

The Mahometan *Bigotry* is so excessive, that “ They
“ esteem *themselves* only to be wise, valiant, and holy.
“ The rest of the World they look upon to be Fools and
“ *Reprobates*: and use them accordingly (c).”

Among the Followers of *Mahomet*, “ Any Person may
“ be a Priest, that pleases to take the Habit and perform

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“ the

(u) *Ross's View of all Religions*, p. 164. Edit. 1683.

(x) *Ross*, *ibid.*

(y) *Ross*, *ibid.* p. 163.

(z) *Great Hist. Dict.* Article, *Mahometism*.

(a) *Ibid.*

(b) *Ibid.* Article, *Turks*.

(c) *Salmon's Geogr. Gramm.* p. 48.

“ the Functions ; and may lay down his Office when he
 “ will : there being nothing like *Ordination* amongst
 “ them (d).”

By this Time, the Reader may judge, whether the Church of *England*, or Mr *Wesley* and his Friend *Sellon*, make the nearest Approaches to *Mahometism*. As to myself in particular, I can give a decisive Proof that *I* am not a Mahometan. It might be better for Mr *Sellon*, if I was. For, it is one of the Essential Commands, enjoined by the *Alcoran*, that *Mahomet's* Disciples must “ NEVER DISPUTE
 “ WITH THE IGNORANT (e).” Consequently, were *Mahomet* and I Master and Scholar, the *Yorkshire* Arminian would have escaped the whole of his pretent Chastisement.

SECTION XII.

*The Judgment of the most eminent English
 MARTYRS, who suffered for the Gospel, prior
 to the Settlement of the Reformation.*

HAVING seen “ *how the Stream goes at* CONSTANTINO-
 “ *NOBLE,*” let us weigh Anchor, and return to our own more enlightened Clime.

When it pleased God to visit this Kingdom with a Revival of Gospel Truth, the Persons, whose Interest it was to keep Mankind involved in Religious Darkness, strained every Sinew of Secular and Ecclesiastical Power, to obstruct the Progress of a Doctrine, which, if not seasonably smothered, would inevitably prove fatal to that golden Idol, which the Church-men of those Times worshipped. They well knew, that the Scheme of FREE SALVATION, as it
 stands

(d) *Salmon's* Geogr. Gramm. p. 430.

(e) *Voltaire's* Ess. on Univ Hist. vol. I. p. 44.

stands simply reveled in Scripture, lays the Axe, not only to the Tree, but to the very Root, of Popery: which, like *Dagon* before the Ark, cannot but fall, in Proportion as the Doctrines of *gratuitous Election* and *unconditional Justification* prevail and extend. Hence, the Sword of Persecution was unsheathed: and they, whose Eyes God had opened, could sing, with Those of old, *For thy sake, we are killed all the Day long; we are counted as Sheep appointed to be slain.*

While the Sword was brandished, and while the Fires were flaming, Protestants went chearfully to Death for the Doctrines of Christ. But, now the Sword is laid asleep, and the Fires are extinguished; the Doctrines of Christ are too generally *forgot*: nay, what is still more shocking, the very Mention of those Doctrines seems to *frighten* some nominal Protestants out of their Wits. If we have lost the *Persecutions*, we have also (in a Manner) lost the *Spirit* and *Faith* of our Christian Predecessors. This will too plainly appear, so far as the Articles now in Question are concerned, even from the few following Examples.

I. *William Sawtree*, an early and eminent Disciple of *Wickliff*, was Rector or Vicar of *St Scitke's* Parish in *London*, and the First who had the Honor of being burnt for Protestantism in *England*. That this worthy Proto-martyr held the Doctrine of *Election*, appears, from Part of a Paper, which he wrote and delivered to *Arundel*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. In the Fulness of his Zeal against Angel-worshipping, he gave the Prelate to understand, that, was he bound to worship one or the other, he would, of the two, “rather worship a Man, whom he knew to be *predestinated*, than worship an Angel:” assigning for Reason, because “*the one is a Man of the same nature with the Humanity of Christ, which an Angel is not (f).*” He suffered Death, A. D. 1400.

II. Mr *John Claydon*, a devout Tradesman of *London*, was burned, in *Smithfield*, A.D. 1415. An English Book had been found in his Custody, from whence Fifteen Articles of Herefy were extracted, which served as the Ground-work of his Prosecution and Condemnation. Among these Articles, was one, concerning *Election* and *Perseverance*, which ran thus: “5. *That no REPROBATE is a Member of the Church, but ONLY such as be ELECTED and PREDESTINATE to Salvation: seeing the Church is no other Thing but the Congregation of faithful Souls, who DO and WILL keep their Faith CONSTANTLY, as well in Deed, as in Word (g).*” This Book, it seems, was entitled, *The Lanthorn of Light (h)*: and Mr *Claydon* confessed, that he “had got that Copy of it transcribed and bound at his own Expence.” On which, he was consigned to the Flames, as incorrigible.

III. Mr *Thomas Bilney*, who had been the Instrument of Bishop *Latimer*’s Conversion, was burned in 1531. Among the Articles of his Examination before *Toussal*, Bishop of *London*, were the following: “Whether he believed the Catholic Church may err in the Faith, or no? And, whether he thought the Catholic Church is only a spiritual Church, intelligible and known only to God?” To this double Interrogatory, *Bilney* answered in these Words: “*The Catholic Church*” [i. e. the Universal Church of God’s predestinated People,] “*can by no Means err in Faith: For it is THE WHOLE CONGREGATION OF THE ELECT; and so known only unto God, who knoweth who are his (i).*” Two other ensnaring Questions were put to this holy Man: “Whether he believed all things, pertaining to Salvation and Damnation, to come of *Necessity*, and nothing to be in *our own* “ *Wills?*

(g) *Fox*, I. 727.

(h) Its Author was one Mr *John Grime*, a Wickliffite. The short Extract from it, cited above, may stand as a general Specimen of the Doctrines with which the Writings of the earliest Protestants were fraught.

(i) *Fox*, II. 213.

“ *Wills?* And, whether he believed *God* to be the *Author* of all *Evil* (*k*)?” He discretely answered, “*God is the Author of the Punishment only, but not of the Offence* (*l*).” He would never have been put to the Test of such Queries as these, if he had not been considered as a known Predestinarian.

IV. *James Bainham*, a Gentleman of Birth and Learning, by Profession a Lawyer, of the Middle Temple, suffered at the Stake in 1532. His Judgment concerning the Evangelical Doctrines, sufficiently appears from one of his Answers, on his first trial before *Stokesley*, Bishop of London. “*All Godliness,*” said the Martyr, “*is GIVEN of God by his abundant GRACE: the which no Man of himself can KEEP, but it*” [i. e. the *Retaining*, as well as the *Reception*, of Grace] “*must be GIVEN him of God* (*m*).” So highly was this chosen Vessel favored in his last Moments, that, when his Legs and Arms were half consumed by the Flames, he addressed the Spectators in these memorable Words: “O ye Papists, ye look for Miracles. Here you may see a Miracle: for, in this Fire, I feel no more Pain, than if I were on a Bed of Down. It is to me a Bed of Roses.”

V. *William Tyndal*, though put to Death in *Flanders*, must yet, as a Native of this Kingdom, be numbered among the *English* Martyrs. He was a Person of seraphic Piety, indefatigable Study, and extraordinary Learning. His Modesty, Zeal, and Disinterestedness, were so great, that he declared, he should be content to *live in any County of England, on an Allowance of Ten Pounds per Annum, and bind himself to receive no more, if he might only have Authority to instruct Children and preach the Gospel.*

Heylin himself confesses, that *Tyndal* has a “Flying-out against *Free-will* (*n*).” It will presently be seen, that that early and eminent Protestant “flew out,” not only

(*k*) Ibid. (*l*) Ibid.

(*m*) *Fox*, II. 246.

(*n*) *Miscel. Tracts*, p. 544.

against *Free-will*, but also against *other* corrupt Branches of the Popish and Pelagian System.

His Translation of the *New Testament* into English (for he did not live to finish the *Old*;) made the Cloud of Persecution, which had been long hovering over him, burst into a Storm. He was apprehended at *Antwerp* (through the Treachery of an ungrateful Englishman, whom he had liberally relieved and hospitably entertained), and carried Prisoner to *Filford*, eighteen Miles from that City: where he was strangled and burned, in 1536.

During his Residence at *Antwerp*, he sent over a Letter to Mr *Frith* (then a Prisoner in the Tower, and afterwards a Martyr,) exhorting him to Fortitude under his Sufferings for the Name of Christ. “*The Will of God,*” says *Tyndal*, in this Letter, “*be fulfilled! and what he hath ORDAINED* “*to be, E’ER THE WORLD WAS MADE, that come, and* “*his Glory reign over all(o)!*” He adds: “*There falleth* “*not an Hair, till God’s Hour be come: and, when his Hour* “*is come, NECESSITY carrieth us hence, though we be not* “*willing.—Be chearful: and remember, that, among the* “*hard-hearted in England, THERE IS A NUMBER RE-* “*SERVED BY GRACE; for whose Sakes, IF NEED BE,* “*you must be ready to suffer.*” Nothing, on this side Heaven, is so sublime and animating, as the Christian Philosophy. And what is the *Christian Philosophy*, but another Name for *Calvinism*?

From several Treatises, written by Mr *Tindal*, a great Number of Propositions were extracted by the Papists, and branded for “*Heretical and Erroneous.*” Of these Propositions, the following are some (p).

“*Faith only justifieth.*

“*The Spirit of God TURNETH us and our Nature, that* “*we do good as naturally*” [i. e. as necessarily] “*as a Tree* “*brings forth Fruit.*

“*Faith rooteth herself in the Hearts of the ELECT.*

“*WORKS*

(o) *Fox*, II. 307.

(p) *Fox*, II. 497—499.

“ *WORKS do only DECLARE to thee that thou ART justified.*

“ *If thou wouldest obtain Heaven by the Merits and Deservings of THINE OWN Works, thou wrongest and shamest the Blood of CHRIST.*

“ *The true Believer is Heir of God, by CHRIST’s Deservings: yea, and in Christ was PREDESTINATE, and ORDAINED UNTO ETERNAL LIFE, BEFORE THE WORLD BEGAN.*

“ *In Believing, we receive the Spirit of God, which is the EARNEST of eternal Life; and we ARE in ETERNAL Life ALREADY, and already feel in our Hearts the Sweetness thereof, and are overcome with the Kindness of God and Christ: and THEREFORE we love the Will of God; and, of Love, are ready to WORK FREELY, and NOT TO OBTAIN that which is GIVEN us freely, and whereof we are Heirs ALREADY.*

“ *The Longing and Consent of the Heart to the Law of God, is the working of the Spirit; which God hath poured into thy Heart, in earnest that thou mightest be SURE that God will fulfil ALL the Promises he hath made to thee. It is also the SEAL and MARK, which God putteth on all Men whom he CHUSETH to everlasting Life.*

“ *Yea, and by THY good Deeds shalt thou be saved: not which THOU hast done, but which CHRIST hath done FOR thee. For Christ is thine, and all HIS Deeds are THY Deeds. Christ is in thee, and thou in him; knit together INSEPARABLY: neither CANST thou be damned, except Christ be damned with thee; neither can Christ be saved, except thou be saved with him.”* The two last Clauses of this Paragraph are, certainly, very strongly expressed. Yet they contain a Truth, which our Lord himself affirmed, though in Terms less harsh: *Where I am, there SHALL also my Servant come — Because I live, ye SHALL live also.* Christ Mystical can no more perish, than Christ personal. —Tindal goes on.

“ Hark

“ Hark what St Paul saith : *If I preach, I have nought to rejoice in, for NECESSITY is put unto me.—If I do it willingly, saith he, then have I my Reward* : that is, then am I sure that God’s Spirit is in me, and that I am elect to eternal Life.

“ *We deserve not everlasting Life, by our good Works* : for God hath promised it unto us, BEFORE we began to do good (q).” Yet Mr Tindal zealously asserted the Necessity of good Works, as *Fruits and Proofs of Faith* ; though, with Scripture, he utterly denied their being meritorious in the Sight of God : witness the following excellent Passage. “ *If thy Faith induce thee not to do good Works, thou hast not the right Faith* : thou only *thinkest* that thou hast it. For St James saith, that *Faith, without Works, is dead in itself*. He saith not, that it is *little, or feeble* ; but that it is *dead* : and that which is dead, is *not*. Therefore, when thou art not moved by Faith to the *Love of God* ; and, by the Love of God, to *good Works* ; thou hast *no Faith* (r).” So true is it, on one Hand, that real Grace *cannot but* produce good Works ; and, on the other, that (as Tindal observes,) “ *If God had promised Heaven to us because of our Works, we could then never be sure of our Salvation* : for we should never know *how much, nor how long, we should labor, to be saved* ; and should always be in Fear that we had done too little ; and so we could never die joyfully (s).”

Dr Heylin shall contribute his Mite, toward demonstrating the Calvinism of Tindal : premising, first, that, in the Judgment of the said Doctor, “ *There were so MANY HETERODOXIES in the most of Tindal’s Writings, as render them no fit Rule for a Reformation, any more than those of Wickliff before remembered*.” Some of these “ *many Heterodoxies*,” Peter Heylin thus enumerates. “ *Grace, saith TINDAL, is properly God’s Favor, Benevolence, or kind Mind ; which, of his own self, without our*

“ *Deservings,*

(q) Fox, *ibid.* 507.

(r) *Ibid.*

(s) *Ibid.* 508.

“ *Deservings, he reacheth to us : whereby [i. e. by which*
 “ *undeserved Favor and Benevolence] he was moved and in-*
 “ *clined to give Christ unto us, with all other Gifts of Grace.*
 “ Which having told us, in his Preface to St Paul’s Epif-
 “ tle to the Romans ; he telleth us, not long after, that,
 “ *In the 9th, 10th and 11th Chapters of the Epistle, the Apost-*
 “ *le teacheth us of GOD’S PREDESTINATION : from whence*
 “ *[i. e. from and out of God’s Predestination] it springeth*
 “ *altogether, WHETHER we shall believe, or NOT believe ; be*
 “ *LOOSED from Sin, or NOT be loosed. By which PREDES-*
 “ *TINATION, our Justifying and Salvation are clear taken*
 “ *out of OUR Hands, and put into the Hands of GOD ONLY :*
 “ *which Thing is most necessary of all. For we are so weak,*
 “ *and so uncertain, that, if it stood in US, there would of*
 “ *Truth no Man be saved : the Devil, no doubt, would de-*
 “ *ceive him. But now God is sure of his Predestination ; nei-*
 “ *ther can any Man withstand or lett him.*

“ Discourſing, in another Place, of the A&T the Will
 “ hath on the Underſtanding” [a Blunder of Heylin’s ;
 who meant to ſay, of the A&T which the Underſtanding hath
 on the Will,] “ He [TINDAL] telleth us, that *The Will*
 “ *of Man followeth the Wit* [i. e. followeth the Underſtand-
 “ ing :] that, *as the Wit erreth, ſo doth the Will : and as*
 “ *the Wit [the Underſtanding] is in CAPTIVITY, ſo is the*
 “ *WILL : neither is it POSSIBLE that the WILL ſhould be*
 “ *FREE, when the Wit is IN BONDAGE* [through Original Sin.]

“ Finally, in the Heats of his Diſputation with Sir *Tho-*
 “ *mas More*, who had ſaid, that ‘ Men were to endeavor
 “ ‘ themſelves, and captivate their Underſtandings, if they
 “ ‘ would believe ;’ Tindal firſt cries out, *How Beetle-blind*
 “ *is fleſhly Reaſon !* and then ſubjoins, that *the Will hath*
 “ *NO OPERATION AT ALL* in the Working of Faith in
 “ my Soul, no more than the Child hath in begetting his
 “ Father : for, ſaith Paul, *It* [i. e. Faith] *is the GIFT of*
 “ *God, and NOT OF US (1).*”—Oh rare *William Tindal !*

“ HETERODOX

“ HETERODOX ” with a Witness !—The Reader need not be told, that the Sir *Thomas More*, whose Tenet of FREE-WILL was thus combated by *Tindal*, was the same Sir *Thomas*, who was afterwards beheaded by *Henry VIII.* for exalting the Pope’s Supremacy above the King’s.

Arminianism will, beyond all Question, join Hands with *Popery*, in condemning the above Extracts : though nothing can be more certain than this great Truth, that the Principles, which they assert, are the very Essence of the Gospel ; and, if the Scriptures are true, must be reckoned in the Number of its brightest and most valuable Doctrines. I agree with the learned and pious Mr *Fox*, that, “ If these
 “ Articles be made Heresies, which refer the Benefit of
 “ our Inheritance of Life and Salvation, to God’s Gift,
 “ and not to *our* Labors ; to *Grace*, and not to *Merits* ; to
 “ *Faith*, and not to the *Law* of Works ; then let us clean
 “ shut up the New Testament, and away with God’s
 “ Word : ” We have nothing to do, but to “ leave
 “ CHRIST and his *Heretical* Gospel ; and, in his Stead,
 “ set up the Bishop of *Rome* with his Talmud, and become
 “ the Disciples of his Decretals (*u*). ”

VI. Mr *John Lambert* received the Academical Part of his Education in the University of *Cambridge* : where it pleased God to convert him by Means of Mr *Bilney*. His true Name was *Nicholsen* : but his subsequent Dangers on a religious Account induced him to assume that of *Lambert*, for his greater Security against the Storm that threatened (*x*). He was, however, burned in *Smithfield*, A. D. 1538 ;
 “ but with a Fire so ill made (purposely to increase his
 “ Pains,) that his *Legs* were consumed, and he still remained alive. Whereupon, two, who stood on each
 “ Side of him, lifted him, on the Points of their Halberds,
 “ as high as the Chain (which fastened him to the Stake)
 “ would reach : and he, lifting up such Hands as he had,
 “ his Fingers Ends flaming with Fire, cried to the People,
 “ ple,

(*u*) Ibid. p. 507.

(*x*) *Hist. of Popery*, Vol. 2. p. 417.

“ ple, with an audible Voice, ‘NONE BUT CHRIST,
 “ ‘NONE BUT CHRIST!’ And so, being set down again
 “ from their Halberts, he fell into the Fire, and breathed
 “ out his faithful Soul into the Arms of his Redeemer (y).”

He had been Chaplain to the *English Merchants at Antwerp*. On an Accusation of Heresy, he was seized, and conveyed to *London*. In the Course of his Examination before *Warham*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he was asked,
 “ *Dost thou believe, that whatsoever is done of Man, whe-*
 “ *ther it be good or ill, cometh of NECESSITY (z)?*” Mr *Lambert* easily perceived, that his being so closely questioned on the Article of *Predestination*, was no other than a Trap laid for his Life. His Reply did equal Honor to his Prudence and Faithfulness: “Unto the *first* Part of
 “ your Riddle, I neither can nor will give any definitive
 “ Answer.—Concerning the *second* Part, *Whether Man*
 “ *hath Free-will, or no, to deserve Joy or Pain?* as for our
 “ *deserving of Joy*, in particular, I think it very little or
 “ none; even when we do the very Commandments and
 “ Law of God. *When ye have done all Things that are com-*
 “ *manded you*, saith our Saviour, *say that ye be unprofitable*
 “ *Servants*. When we have done his Bidding, we ought
 “ not so to magnify neither our *self*, nor our own *Free-*
 “ *will*: but laud HIM, with a meek Heart, through
 “ whose Benefit we have done (if at any Time we do it)! is
 “ Liking and Pleasure. Hence *Austin* prayeth, *Domine,*
 “ *da quod jubes, et jube quod vis*: Lord, give what thou com-
 “ *mandest, and command what thou wilt*. Concerning FREE
 “ WILL, I mean altogether as doth St *Austin*: that, of
 “ ourselves, we have NO *Liberty* nor *Ability* to do the Will
 “ of God; but are *shut up* and *sold under Sin*, as both *Isaiah*
 “ and *Paul* bear witness: but by the GRACE of God we
 “ are rid and set at Liberty, according to the Portion
 “ which every Man” [i. e. every *regenerate* Man] “hath
 “ received of the same; some more, some less (a).”

Lambert

(y) *Ibid.* p. 419.

(z) *Fox*, II. 331.

(a) *Fox*, *ibid.* 335.

Lambert was also asked, “*Whether Faith alone, without good Works, may suffice to the Salvation and Justification of a Man who has fallen into Sin after Baptism (b) ?*” The Martyr answered, in the Words of *St Austin*, “*Opera bona non faciunt iustum, sed Iustificatus facit bona Opera : THE PERFORMANCE OF GOOD WORKS DOES NOT JUSTIFY A MAN, BUT THE MAN WHO IS JUSTIFIED PERFORMS GOOD WORKS (c).*”

Lambert was (*d*) not sentenced on his first Examination. But, in a short Time, he was apprehended again, and appealed, from the Judgment of the Bishops, to the King. *Henry VIII.* gave him the Hearing in Person. The stern, overbearing Roughness, with which that four, unfeeling Tyrant treated the Evangelical Prisoner; and the decent Firmness, with which the latter acquitted himself, amidst such Insults as would either have quite intimidated, or violently exasperated, the Generality of Men; may be read in almost any of our Historians. The Result was, that *Mr Lambert* received Sentence of Death, and was executed in the Manner above related (*e*).

VII. Mrs

(*b*) *Fox*, *ibid.* 332.

(*c*) *Ibid.* 350.

(*d*) Bishop *Burnet* attributes *Lambert's* Escape, at this Time, to the Death of Archbishop *Warham*, and to the Change of Counsels which that Event, for a while, occasioned.—*Hist. of the Reform.* Vol. I. p. 241.

(*e*) In the Year 1541, one *Alexander Seton*, Preacher at *St Antolin's*, brought himself into great Danger for asserting the Doctrines of Grace. He was, at length, unhappily prevailed with to recant: and my Reason, for making any Mention of him, is, because the Doctrines, for which he had like to have lost his Life, demonstrate, among a Multiplicity of other Instances, how high the Protestant Tide ever ran in Favor of Calvinism. *Mr Fox* observes (II. 452.) that “the greatest Matter alledged against *Seton*, was, for preaching free Justification by Faith in Christ, and against Man's Free-will, and against false Confidence in good Works.” The Substance of his Principles may be read in *Fox* (u. s. p. 451.) and are well worthy of Perusal, notwithstanding the

VII. Mrs *Anne Ascough* (commonly called *Askew*), a most pious and accomplished young Lady, of whom the World was not worthy, adorns the Protestant Calendar. Her Understanding only was masculine, not her Manners. The Diamond was set in Gold. The Virtues of her Heart added Value to a Genius originally bright, and solidly improved. Both were sanctified and ennobled by the *Grace* of God. Hence, her Piety was angelic; her Meekness, invincible; her Fortitude, supernatural. “She might
“have lived,” says Mr *Fox*, “in great Wealth and Prosperity, if she would have followed the World rather
“than Christ (*f*).” Her Family and Connections were of considerable Rank (*g*): and, unless I am much mistaken, she herself seems to have possessed, at one Time, some post of Honor in the Court of Queen *Catharine Parr*. For the Wit, Delicacy, and good Sense, with which she embarrassed the Lord Mayor of *London*, Bishop *Bonner*, Bishop *Gardiner*, and others, in the Course of her several Examinations; the Reader may consult *Strype*, *Fox*, and *Burnet*. She had been so inhumanly racked, during her Imprisonment, that she lost the Use of her Limbs, and was forced to be conveyed to *Smithfield* in a Chair. Three Persons, of the other Sex, suffered Martyrdom at the same Time; and were not a little strengthened in the last Stage of their Warfare, by the Example, Prayers, and Exhortations of this excellent Woman: who, notwithstanding, was so weakened and disabled by the brutal Hardships of her Confinement, that two Serjeants were obliged to support her at the Stake, till the Faggots were kindled. Amidst all these outward Infirmities, her Heaven-born Soul continued triumphant and alert. She was filled with Joy unspeakable and full of Glory. Her Faculties were so entire, and her
Presence

the Man himself made, afterwards, a verbal Retraction of them. Gold is Gold, let who will fling it away.

(*f*) *Acts and Mon.* II. 489.

(*g*) See *Strype's Eccles. Memorials*, Vol. I. p. 387.

Presence of Mind so extraordinary, that, as she stood at the Stake, she frequently corrected *Shaxton*, while he was preaching the Execution-Sermon, when he advanced any Thing contrary to the Doctrines of Scripture. Sermon being ended (which was preached in the open Air,) the Lord Chancellor *Wriothesley* offered the King's Pardon to the four Martyrs, as they stood at their respective Stakes, on Condition of Recantation. They all nobly refused. Not one of them would so much as look at the Papers when held out to them. Mrs *Ascough*, in particular, answered, "*I did not come hither to deny my Lord and Master.*" The Lord Mayor then gave the Word of Command, *Fiat Justitia*: and the Flames were immediately kindled. Thus these blessed Martyrs ascended in Chariots of Fire to Heaven. The Spot, whereon they were executed, was that open Part of *Smithfield*, which lies over against the Gate that leads to *St Bartholomew's Church*. Mrs *Ascough* was not 25 Years of Age (*b*).

That

(*b*) In the *History of Popery*, Vol. 2. p. 464, a Piece of spiritual Poetry is preserved, which was written and sung by Mrs *Ascough*, while she lay under Sentence of Death in *Newgate*. Considering it as the Production of a Lady, whose Constitution was quite broken with Sufferings; and not forgetting, that it was composed above *Two Hundred and twenty Years* ago (viz. A. D. 1546.) it will reflect the Reverse of Dishonor on the amiable Authoress, to insert it here.

*Like as the armed Knight,
appointed to the Field,
with this World will I fight,
and Faith shall be my Shield.*

*Faith is that Weapon strong,
which will not fail at Need:
My Foes therefore among
therewith I will proceed.*

*As it is bad in Strength
and Force of Christ his Way,
It will prevail at length,
tho' all the Devils Jay Nay.*

*Faith in the Fathers old
obtained Righteousness:
which maketh me so bold
to fear no World's Distress.*

*I now rejoice in Heart,
and Hope bids me do so:
for Christ will take my Part,
and ease me of my Woe.*

*Thou sayst, Lord, Whoso knock,
to them wilt Thou attend:
Undo therefore the Lock,
and thy strong Pow'r down send.*

More

That she believed the Doctrines of Grace, and experienced their Power in her own Heart; is evident, from the Drift, both of the few Writings she left behind her, and of her religious Behavior in general. I shall, particularly, instance this, in the Article of *Final Perseverance*. In an Account of her Sufferings, written by herself, after observing that the Lord Chancellor *Wriothesley* assisted in torturing her on the Rack, with his own Hands, till she was almost dead; and that, after she was taken off from the Rack, she sat, for two Hours, on the bare Floor, disputing with the Lord Chancellor, who vehemently importuned her to renounce the Faith: she adds, "*But my Lord God, I thank his everlasting Goodness, gave me GRACE to PERSEVERE; and WILL do, I hope, TO THE VERY END.*" [*Fox*, 2. 488.] What, under the pressure of those languishing Circumstances, she only expressed an *Hope* of; she, shortly after, expressed her *full Assurance* of: "*I DOUBT NOT,*" said she, "*but God will PERFORM his Work in me, like as he hath BEGUN.*" [*Ibid.*] I desire no stronger Proof of her Calvinism. Whosoever "*doubts not,*" that the *Work of Grace is of God's BEGINNING, and SHALL be of God's COMPLETING*; must either adopt such Incoherencies, as would disgrace the meanest Understanding,

R

standing,

*More Enemies I have,
than Hairs to crown my Head.
Let them not me deprave,
but fight thou in my Stead.*

*On thee my Care I cast,
for all their cruel Spight:
I set not by their Haste,
for Thou art my Delight.*

*I am not She that list
my Anchor to let fall
for every drizzling Mist:
my Ship's substantial.*

*Not oft use I to write,
in Prose, nor yet in Rhyme:
Yet will I shew one Sight,
which I saw in my Time.*

*I saw a Royal Throne,
where Justice should have sit;
but in her Stead was one
of moody cruel Wit:*

*Absorb'd was Righteousness,
as by a raging Flood:
Satan in fierce Excess,
Suck'd up the guiltless Blood.*

*Then thought I—JESU, Lord,
when thou shalt judge us all,
hard is it to record
on these Men what will fall.*

*Yet, Lord, I thee desire,
for what they do to mee
Let them not taste the Hire
Of their Iniquitee.*

standing, or be clear in those *other* Articles of the Gospel with which *these* are so intimately and necessarily connected.

VIII. I must not forget the eminently Learned Doctor *Robert Barns*: of whose Conversion, pious Mr *Bilney* had been the Instrument. Lord *Cromwell's* Fall (who was beheaded July 28, 1540.) seems to have involved in it the Doom of this illustrious Protestant, who was burned for the Gospel on the 30th of the same Month.

Heylin's arminian Pen shall, for the present, suffice to prove the Calvinism of Dr *Barns*.

"It is no Marvel," says that virulent Polemist, "if we find somewhat in his [i. e. in *Barns's*] Writings, agreeable to the Palate of the *Calvinists* and rigid *Lutherans*. From whence it is, that, laying down the Doctrine of PREDESTINATION, he [i. e. Dr *Barns*] discourses thus: *But yet, sayest thou, that he [God] giveth to the one, Mercy; and, to the other, none. I answer, What is that to thee? Is not his Mercy his own? Is it not lawful for him to GIVE it to whom he WILL? Is thine Eye evil, because his is good? Take that which is thine, and go thy Way. For, if he will shew his Wrath, and make his Power known, over the VESSELS OF WRATH ordained to Damnation; and to declare the Riches of his Glory, unto the VESSELS OF MERCY, which he hath prepared and ELECTED unto Glory; what hast thou therewith to do? — But here will subtil Blindness say, 'God saw before, that Jacob should do good: he saw also that Esau should do evil; therefore did he condemn him.'* Alas, for Blindness! what? will you judge of that which God foresaw? — *These Children being yet unborn, they had done neither good nor bad: and yet one of them is CHOSEN, and the other of them is REFUSED. St Paul knoweth no other Cause, but the WILL of God: and will you needs discuss another? He saith not, I will have Mercy on him who I see shall do GOOD; but, I will shew Mercy to whom I WILL.*

"God,

“ God, of his infinite Power, lets nothing be exempted from him, but all Things to be subject unto HIS ACTION: and nothing can be done by them, BUT BY HIS PRINCIPAL MOTION. So that he worketh in ALL MANNER of Things, that be either GOOD or BAD: not changing their Nature” [i. e. God is not the Author of Sin, as though he changed any Thing to bad from good,] “ but only MOVING them to work, after their Natures, so that, good worketh good, and evil worketh evil: and God USETH them both, as Instruments. And yet doth he nothing evil, but evil is done alone through the Will of Man: GOD WORKING by him, but not Evil, AS BY AN INSTRUMENT (i).” Old Father Heylin, who cites these judicious Passages, is not very well pleased with them. He is particularly disgusted with, what he calls, “ the Subtlety in the Close thereof:” and, because he cannot distil the least Drop of *Arminianism* from these Flowers of Paradise, he sagely concludes, that *Barns* draws nearer to “ The Zuinglians, touching God’s working on the Will, than possibly may be capable of a GOOD [i. e. of an *arminian*] CONSTRUCTION.”

Will the Reader permit me to subjoin the Testimony of two worthy Persons, who suffered for the Gospel in *Scotland*, prior to the Reformation? I am sensible, that their Suffrage does not strictly pertain to the Argument of the present Section. It is not, however, entirely foreign to it; as Martyrs, of all Nations, are Brethren: and as it will conduce to demonstrate, that the first Protestants of that Country, no less than of our own, were Companions in Faith as well as in Patience.

I. Mr *Patrick Hamelton* was a Person of very illustrious Descent; nearly related, both by Father’s and Mother’s Side, to *James V.* the then reigning King of *Scotland* (k). Early in Life, he was made Abbot of *Ferne*: and his subsequent Preferments would have been very great, had not

(i) *Barns*, as quoted by *Heylin* in his *Miscel. Tr.* p. 544, 545.

(k) *Burnet’s Hist. of the Reform.* Vol. 1. p. 291.

God opened his Eyes, to see the Antichristianism of Popery. Making the Tour of *Germany*, he became acquainted with *Luther* and other learned Protestants: whose Conversation was blessed to the Conversion of this excellent Man. On his Return to his own Country, he was very assiduous in communicating to others the spiritual Light he had received. His Sermons were animated with great Zeal against the Doctrinal Corruptions which then prevailed; and his Labors were crowned with such Success, as alarmed the ruling Ecclesiastics, who, from that Time forward, marked him for the Shambles. Being cited to answer before *James Beton*, Archbishop of *St Andrews*; such was the Martyr's couragious Zeal, that he made his Appearance early in the Morning, some Hours before the Time appointed. The Prelate, and his Consistory of Bishops and Abbots, being totally unable to resist the Wisdom and Spirit with which he asserted the Doctrines of Christ, realized the old Popish Argument, "you have the *Word*, but we have the *Sword*," by condemning him on the Spot: and, in such Haste were they to dispatch him, that he was burned the same Afternoon, which was either the last Day of *February*, or the first of *March*, 1527. "Learned Men," says Mr *Fox*, "who communed and reasoned with him, do testify, that the following are the very Articles for which he suffered:

- " 1. *Man hath no Free-will.*
- " 2. *A Man is only justified by Faith in Christ.*
- " 3. *A Man, so long as he liveth, is not without Sin.*
- " 4. *He is not worthy to be called a Christian, who doth not believe that he is in Grace.*
- " 5. *A good Man doth good Works: good Works do not make a good Man.*
- " 6. *An evil Man bringeth forth evil Works: evil Works, being faithfully repented, do not make an evil Man.*
- " 7. *Faith, Hope, and Charity, be so linked together, that one of them cannot be without another, in one Man, in this Life (1)."*

In

In exact Conformity with the above Articles, part of the Sentence of Condemnation, pronounced on him immediately after his Trial, ran thus : “ We, *James*, by the Mercy of
 “ God, Archbishop of *St Andrews*, Primate of *Scotland* ;
 “ —have found Master *Patrick Hamelton* many Ways in-
 “ famed with Heresy ; disputing, holding, and maintain-
 “ ing divers Heresies of *Martin Luther* and his Followers,
 “ repugnant to our Faith :—That *Man hath no Free-will* ;
 “ That *Man is in Sin so long as he liveth* ; That *Children*,
 “ *incontinent after Baptism*, are Sinners ; That *all Christians*,
 “ *who be worthy to be called Christians*, do know that they
 “ are in Grace ; That no *Man is justified by Works*, but by
 “ Faith only ; That good *Works make not a good Man*, but a
 “ good *Man doth make good Works* ; That *Faith, Hope, and*
 “ *Charity*, are so knit, that he, who hath one, hath the rest.—
 “ With divers other Heresys and detestable Opinions : and
 “ hath persisted so obstinate in the same, that, by no Coun-
 “ sel nor Persuasion, he may be drawn therefrom to the
 “ Way of our right Faith.—All these Premises being con-
 “ sidered, We—do pronounce, &c (m).”

This great and holy Martyr, who was executed in the 23d Year of his Age, drew up a short Sketch of Evangelical Divinity, which was afterwards published, with a recommendatory Preface, by an eminent Martyr of our own Country, the learned and pious Mr *John Frith* (n), who

R 3

suffered

(m) Fox, *ibid*.

(n) This Mr *Frith* merits a distinct Article to himself, in the present Essay. But I am forced to omit both Him and a Multitude of others : else, my Octavo would swell to a Folio. I find myself obliged to be superficial, in order to be tolerably concise. Yet let me just observe, that Mr *Frith* might vie with *Calvin*, or with *Zuinglius*, or even with *Luther* himself, as a Predestinarian. Heylin affirms, that, in this Respect, *Frith* soared higher than even Mr *Tyndal*'s penetrating Sight could follow : and yet, as I have shewn in this very Section, *Tyndal* looked as far into Predes- tination, as most Men ever did. But, it seems, *Frith* could con- template the glorious Lustre of that Sun, with a still more acute

suffered Death, at *London*, in 1533. The whole of this concise Treatise is inserted into Mr *Fox's* inestimable Martyrology. An Extract from it will, I hope, both please and profit the Reader.

Mr *Hamelton* well knew, that half of our Religious Mistakes arise from not clearly ascertaining the Difference between the *Law* and the *Gospel*, and from not exactly distinguishing the true Nature of each. This he does, with great Judgment and Accuracy, in the following Remarks.

“ The Law saith, *Pay thy Debt* [viz. the Debt of perfect Obedience to God.] The Gospel saith, *Christ hath paid it.*

“ The Law saith, *Thou art a Sinner; despair, and thou shalt be damned.* The Gospel saith, *Thy Sins are forgiven thee, be of good Comfort, for thou shalt be saved.*

“ The Law saith, *Make Amends for thy Sins.* The Gospel saith, *Christ hath made it for thee.*

“ The Law saith, *The Father of Heaven is angry with thee.* The Gospel saith, *Christ hath pacified him with his Blood.*

“ The Law saith, *Where is thy Righteousness, Goodness, Satisfaction?* The Gospel saith, *Christ is thy Righteousness, Goodness, and Satisfaction.*

“ The Law saith, *Thou art bound [over] to me, to the Devil, and to Hell.* The Gospel saith, *Christ hath delivered thee from them All.*”

On the subject of *Faith*, he observes, that this important Term signifies, “ To believe in Christ, and to believe his Word, and to believe that He will help thee in all thy Need, and deliver thee from all Evil.” He affirms, that “ Faith is the Gift of God,” which he thus proves :

“ Every

and less dazzled Eye. No wonder, therefore, that *Heylin* should stare, with Affrightment, at what he terms “ *Frith's HIGH-FLYING Conceits of PREDESTINATION.*” See *Heylin's Misc. Tr.* p. 544, and 547.

“ Every good Thing is the Gift of God.

“ Faith is good.

“ *Ergo*, Faith is the Gift of God.”

Nor does he stop here ; but immediately adds this consecutory Proposition : “ Faith is not in our Power.” Which he likewise argues fyllogistically :

“ The Gift of God is not in our Power,

“ Faith is the Gift of God.

“ Therefore, Faith is not in our Power.”

On the Doctrine of *Works*, he expresses himself with great Perspicuity and Strength of Reason. “ No man,” says he, “ is justified by the Deeds of the Law, but “ by the Faith of JESUS CHRIST. Moreover, since “ CHRIST, the Maker of Heaven and Earth and all that “ is therein, behoved to die for us ; we are compelled to “ grant, that we were so far drowned and sunk in sin, “ that neither our Deeds, nor all the Treasures that ever “ God made or might make, could have holpen us out of “ it. Therefore, no Deeds or Works [of our own per- “ forming] may make us righteous.” He then obviates an Objection, which, he foresaw, either the Ignorance or the Perverseness of some might possibly alledge : “ *If Works “ make us neither righteous nor unrighteous, then* (thou wilt “ say) *It is no Matter what we do.* I answer : If thou “ do evil, it is a sure Argument that thou art evil, and “ wantest Faith. If thou do good, it is an Argument “ that thou art good, and hast Faith : for a good Tree “ beareth good Fruit, and an evil Tree evil Fruit. Yet “ good Fruit makes not the Tree good, nor evil Fruit “ the Tree evil. A Man is good, ere he do good Deeds ; “ and evil, ere he do evil Deeds.

“ Whosoever believeth or thinketh to be saved by his “ Works, denieth that Christ is his Savior. For how is “ He thy Savior, if thou mightest save *thyself* by thy “ Works ? or whereto should He die for thee, if any “ Works [of thine] might have saved thee ? — What is “ this, to say Christ died for thee ? Verily, that thou

“ shouldst [else] have died perpetually ; and that Christ,
 “ to deliver thee from Death, died for thee, and changed
 “ thy perpetual Death into his own Death. For *thou*
 “ madest the Fault, and *He* suffered the Pain : and that
 “ for the LOVE *He* had to thee BEFORE THOU WAST
 “ BORN, when thou hadst done neither good nor evil.
 “ Now, seeing *He* hath paid thy Debt, thou *needest* not,
 “ neither *canst* thou, pay it ; but shouldst be damned, if
 “ His Blood were not [shed]. But, since HE was pu-
 “ nished for thee, thou shalt NOT be punished.

“ I do not say, That we ought to do no good Deeds :
 “ but I say, we should do no good Works to the intent
 “ to *get* the Inheritance of *Heaven*, or *Remission* of Sin.
 “ For if we believe to get the Inheritance of Heaven
 “ through good Works, then we believe not to get it
 “ through the Promise of God. Or if we think to get
 “ Remission of our Sins by our Deeds, then we believe
 “ not that they *are* forgiven us : and so we count God a
 “ Liar. For God saith, *Thou shalt have the Inheritance of*
 “ *Heaven, for my SON's sake ; Thy Sins are forgiven thee,*
 “ *for my SON's sake :* and you say, *It is NOT so, but I will*
 “ *win it through my WORKS.*

“ Thus, you see, I condemn not *good Deeds*, but I
 “ condemn the false *Trust* in any Works : for, all the
 “ Works, wherein a Man *putteth any Confidence*, are there-
 “ with poisoned, and become evil.

“ Wherefore, thou *must* do good Works ; but beware
 “ that thou do them not [with a View] to *deserve* any
 “ Good through them : for, if thou do, thou receivest
 “ the Good, not as *Gifts* of God, but as *Debt* to thee,
 “ and makest thyself Fellow with God, because thou wilt
 “ take nothing of him for nought. And so shalt thou
 “ fall, as *Lucifer* fell for his Pride.”

Is it not astonishing, that so *young* a Man, a Native and
 Inhabitant of *Scotland*, should write with such Precision,
 and in so masterly a Style, almost *Two Hundred and Fifty*
Years ago ?

II. No Person, who knows any Thing of the *Scottish* History, can be entirely unacquainted with the Character and Sufferings of the famous and venerable Mr *George Wishart*, who was burned at *St Andrews*, A. D. 1545. His remarkable History, and the Spirit of Prophecy with which he more than once proved himself to be endued, are so well known, that I shall enter (o) directly on the Evidence of his *Calvinism*.

On

(o) The Description of Mr *Wishart's* Person, Dress, and De-meanor, drawn by one who had been his Pupil at *Cambridge* (for Mr *Wishart* received his Education, and spent some Years, in that University,) presents us with an artless, but lively, Picture of antique Simplicity, too singular to be overlooked. “ He was a
 “ Man of tall Stature, gold-headed, and on the same a round French
 “ Cap of the best: judged to be of a Melancholy Complexion, by his
 “ Physiognomy. Black-haired, long-bearded, comely of Personage,
 “ well spoken after his Country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely,
 “ glad to teach, desirous to learn, and was well travelled. Having
 “ on him, for his Habit, or Clothing, never but a Mantle, or Frieze
 “ Gown to the Shoes; a black Millian Fustian Doublet; plain black
 “ Hose; coarse new Canvass for his Shirts; and white falling
 “ Bands, and Cuffs at his Hands. All the which Apparel he gave
 “ to the Poor; some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked:
 “ saving his French Cap, which he kept the whole Year of my being
 “ with him. He was modest, temperate, fearing God, and hating
 “ Covetousness: for his Charity had never End, Night, Noon, nor Day.
 “ He forbore one Meal in three, one Day in four, for the most Part;
 “ except something to comfort Nature. He lay hard, upon a Puff of
 “ Straw; and coarse new Canvass Sheets, which, when he changed,
 “ he gave away. He had commonly, by his Bed-side, a Tub of Wa-
 “ ter: in the which (his People being in Bed, the Candle put out, and
 “ all quiet,) as I, being very young, being assured, often heard him;
 “ and, in one light Night, discerned him. He taught with great
 “ Modesty and Gravity; so that some of his People thought him se-
 “ vere, and would have slain him: but the Lord was his Defence.
 “ And he, after due Correction for their Malice, by good Exhortation
 “ amended them, and went his Way. His Learning was no less suf-
 “ ficient, than his Desire: always prest and ready to do good in that
 “ he

On his Examination, before the Cardinal Archbishop of St Andrews, he was accused of representing God as the Author of Sin. “Thou, false Heretic, saideſt, That Man hath no *Free-will*, but is like to the *Stoics*, who ſay, That it is not in Man’s Will to do any Thing; but that all Concupiſcence and Deſire cometh by God, whatſoever Kind it be of (p).” Mr *Wiſhart*, in his Answer, utterly denied that the Doctrin of Salvation by Grace is pregnant with ſo blaſphemous a Conſequence: “My Lords, I ſaid not ſo. I ſay, that as many as believe in Chriſt firmly, unto them is given Liberty; conformably to the Saying in St John, *If the Son MAKE you free, THEN ſhall ye verily be free*. On the contrary, as many as believe not in Chriſt Jeſus, they are *Bond-Servants* of Sin. He, that finneth, is *bound* to ſin (q).” What is this, but to ſay? 1. That Man’s Will is *not free* to Good, until *after* he is converted to the Faith of Chriſt. 2. That, prior to Conversion, and in a State of Nature, Man *cannot but* offend God. 3. That Man can only be made *free indeed*, by the Grace of Chriſt, breathing Faith into his Heart.—If this be not Calviniſm, I am at a Loſs to know what is.

A Clause, occurring in one of Mr *Wiſhart*’s laſt Supplications to God, ſhall conclude this Section: “*We deſire Thee heartily, that Thou conſerve, defend, and help THY CONGREGATION WHICH THOU HAST CHOSEN BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD; and give THEM thy Grace, to hear thy Word, and to be thy true Servants in this preſent Life* (r).”

“*he was able, both in the Houſe privately, and in the School publickly; profeſſing and reading divers Authors.*” See Fox, Vol. II. p. 521.

(p) Ibid. 524.

(q) Ibid.

(r) Ibid. 525.

SECTION XIII.

The Judgment of our ENGLISH REFORMERS.

VERY little need be said, to prove the *Calvinism* of those illuminated Divines, who were made, by Providence, the Instruments of extending and fixing the English Reformation. The whole Series of our *Public Service*, the uniform Tenor of our *Articles*, and the Chain of Doctrine asserted in each Book of *Homilies*; are a standing Demonstration, that the Original Framers and Compilers believed in, and worshipped, the God of their Fathers, after *that* Way, which Papists and Arminians term *Heresy*.

Even Mr *Sellon* does not, in his 7th Page, so much as attempt to call in question the Calvinism of our Reformers. Finding himself hard drove, he fairly gives up the Point: exclaiming, however, at the same Time, that the Reformers brought their Calvinism with them from the Church of *Rome*. “*Let me tell you,*” says the angry Conceder, “*that our first Reformers, in the Point of PREDESTINATION, did say over again those Lessons which they had learned in the ROMAN Schools.*” I agree with my Adversary, in acknowledging, that the Reformers were *Predestinarians*; but I pity his Weakness in venturing to assert, on the lame Authority of *Christopher Potter*, that those excellent Men imported their Doctrine of Predestination from *Rome*. I have already shewn, that it has, for Ages and Ages back, been the ruling Endeavor of *Papery* to stifle, demolish, and exterminate, the whole System of *Calvinism*, both Root and Branch. You might as reasonably affirm, that the Glory, which beamed from the Face of *Moses*, was kindled at Hell-Fire; as insinuate, that we are indebted to *Rome* for any of our Thirty-nine Articles.—Mr *Sellon*’s Concession, however, induces me to offer him
a plain

a plain Query. To what End have you scribbled a Libel, with a professed View to *Arminianize* the Liturgy, Articles, and Homilies, which you yourself acknowledge to have been composed by *Calvinistic* Divines? Can any Man, in his Senses, really believe, that a Set of *Predestinarians* would draw up a Plan of National Faith and Worship on the *Arminian* Model? Impossible. Your Quotation, therefore, from *Christopher Potter*, which you have adopted for your own, has stabbed the whole Hypothesis of your Pamphlet to the very Heart.

In vain do Messieurs *Wesley* and *Sellon* disconsolately walk, Arm in Arm, round about our Established Zion, surveying her Walls, and shaking their Heads at her Bulwarks; but unable either to find, or to make, a Breach, whereat to enter. Happy would they deem themselves, could they prove that the *Reformers* were *Arminians*. But, alas! The Church of England was settled, under King *Edward VI.* long before *Arminius* himself was born; and afterwards re-settled, by *Elizabeth*, when the same *Arminius* was an Infant in his Cradle. *Pelagians* were (if I may so phrase it) the *Arminians* of *those* Times: and *Pelagians* are, expressly and by Name, branded for “*vain Talkers*,” in the Ninth Article. It clearly follows, 1. That the Original Compilers of the Articles *were not* *Pelagians*. And, 2. That they *could not* be *Arminians*: for *Arminius* was then unborn and unbegotten (*s*).

Bishop *Burnet* himself, as I have elsewhere observed, was compelled to grant, That, “*In England, the first* “*Reformers were generally* SUB-LAPSARIANS (*t*):” tacitly admitting, that the *rest* of those Apostolic Men were (dreadful News to Mr *Sellon*!) SUPRA-lapsarians (*u*). I could

(*s*) He was born, at *Oudewater*, in 1560.

(*t*) Expos. of the 17th Article.

(*u*) The *Supra-lapsarians* suppose, that, in the Decree of Election and Preterition, God did not consider Mankind either as fallen

could corroborate this Assertion, if Need required, from *other* very plain and conclusive Passages, scattered through *Burnet's Historic Writings*. Waving, however, at present, the farther Testimonies of that Prelate; I shall adduce the Attestations of Two, more modern, Historians: neither of whom can incur the remotest Suspicion of leaning toward Calvinism. These are, Mr *Tindal*, the Reverend Continuator of *Rapin*; and *David Hume*, Esq; whose History, considered merely as a Composition, does Honor to the Author and the Age.—I begin with the Former.

“ In *England*, a middle Course was steered:” [i. e. we admitted the *Doctrines*, but rejected the *Discipline*, of *Geneva*.] “ Though the *Articles of Religion* are A PLAIN
“ TRANSCRIPT OF ST AUSTIN'S DOCTRINE, in the
“ controverted Points of *Original Sin*, *Predestination*, *Jus-*
“ *tification by Faith alone*, *Efficacy of Grace*, and *Good Works*;
“ yet are they composed with such a Latitude”——No Quibbling, good Mr *Tindal*. If the Articles of the Church of England, respecting those Tenets, are “ *A plain Trans-*
“ *cript of St Austin's Doctrine*,” it irresistibly follows, That they only, who believe as *St Austin* did, can honestly subscribe to *Austin's* Articles. For, of what Value is a Fence, whose Chasms and Apertures are of “ *such a*
“ LATITUDE,” as to admit the very Persons, whom it was professedly planted to *exclude*? To imagine, that the Reformers, who had, themselves, gone so heartily and
strongly

len or unfallen; but chose some, and rejected others, considered merely as Beings that should infallibly exist.—The *Sublapsarians* suppose, that the Elect were chosen, and the Reprobate passed by, not merely as Creatures; but, complexly, as Sinners. Each Hypothesis has been adopted by some of the best and greatest Men that ever lived. Calvinism is the general Name, under which, the Partizans of both are comprehended. The Church of *England* System, as I shall shew hereafter, is, strictly speaking, formed on the *Sublapsarian* Principle: though with such Moderation, as not to exclude the former.

strongly into the Doctrines above-mentioned; and who, moreover, digested those Doctrines into a National Creed, to continue as the standing Test of Ministerial Orthodoxy; to imagine that these Identical Reformers would leave such Loop-holes of Evasion, as would counter-act the very Design of that Test, and render the Test itself null and void; is equivalent to supposing, that a Man would first fortify the Door of his House with as many Bolts and Bars as he can, and then purposely leave his Door on the Latch, that every Intruder, who pleases, may enter in.

Mr *Tindal* proceeds. “The most rigid Calvinist can give his Assent to All the Thirty-nine Articles, except Three, which relate to the Discipline of the Church.”—*Thirty-six*, then, out of the 39, are *most rigidly Calvinistic*: else “the most rigid Calvinist” could *not* “give his Assent to All the Articles except Three.” And even those Three may be both *assented* and *subscribed* to, with full Purpose of Heart, by Every Man who is a Calvinist in Matters of *Doctrine* only.—“For though THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, as it stands in the Articles and Homilies, AGREES WITH THAT OF THE CALVINISTS; yet the *Discipline* is entirely different.” I grant, that the *Discipline* of our Church is “entirely different” from that Mode of Discipline embraced by *some* Calvinists: and may it ever continue so. In nothing did the Wisdom of our Reformers more strikingly appear, than in connecting the purest Doctrines with the best Form of Ecclesiastical Government and Discipline. A Species of Discretion, in which the foreign Leaders of the Reformation were not so happy.—Now, on weighing the collected Amount of Mr *Tindal*’s (x) Testimony, I
would

(x) The Passages, here cited from that Writer, occur in the third Volume of his *Continuation* (Octav. 1758.) p. 275.—I cannot pass over, without a Moment’s Animadversion, what this Historian imprudently advances, respecting the *Liturgy* of the Church

would submit this natural Question to the Reader: Would the English Reformers have established a Summary of Doctrines “agreeable to *That of the Calvinists* ;” if the said Reformers had not been Calvinists themselves? To solve this Enquiry, we need only propose another: Would

SUCH

Church of England. “*The Liturgy*,” says he, p. 276. “or “*Common Prayers*, were chiefly taken from the Offices of the “*Church of Rome*.”—This, I well know, is a pretty general Opinion. But I cannot help believing it to be unjustly founded. The Agreement, between some parts of our Public Service, and some Parts of the *Romish* Missals, falls extremely short of proving the main Point. We use *the Lord's Prayer* (for Example,) in common with the Papists: yet we receive it, not from *Rome*, but from the New Testament. A Pen, not altogether contemptible, affirms, that the Compilers of the Liturgy examined not only the Popish Forms, but likewise “*all other Service Books then in Use*. “These they compared with the *primitive* Liturgies: and what- “ever they found in them consonant to the *Holy Scriptures*, and “the Doctrine and Worship of the *Primitive Church*, they retained “and improved; but the modern Corruptions and superstitious “Innovations of later Ages, they entirely discharged and rejected.” See *Downes's* Lives of the Compilers, p. 150.—What I shall farther add, I give from an Authority incomparably more decisive and respectable. “*Our Church of England*,” says Bishop *Stillingfleet*, “hath omitted none of those Offices wherein all the *Antient* “*Churches* were agreed: and where the [primitive] *British* or “*Gallican* [Church] differed from the *Roman*, our [present] Church “HATH NOT FOLLOWED the *Roman*, but the OTHER. And “therefore our Dissenters do unreasonably charge us with taking “our Offices from the Church of *Rome*.” *Stillingfleet's Origines Britannica*, chap. 4. p. 237.—The *Gallican Liturgy* (extremely different from the *Roman*) was introduced, it seems, into *England*, in the Beginning of the *Fifth Century*: and is said to have been originally framed by *Polycarp* and *Irenæus*. The learned Bishop gives a large Account of this antient Form of Worship; proves it to have been the Basis of That now established; and points out a great Variety of Particulars, in which it differed from the Form imposed by the *Roman* Bishops. See *Ibid.* from p. 216. to p. 237. —Edit. 1683.

SUCH MEN (for Instance) as *Pelagius* and *Arminius*, have drawn up SUCH ARTICLES, in particular, as the 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th?

Let us next attend to the florid and ingenious Mr *Hume*.
 “ The first Reformers in *England*, as in other *European*
 “ Countries, had embraced the MOST RIGID Tenets of
 “ PREDESTINATION and ABSOLUTE DECREES: and
 “ had composed, upon THAT System, ALL the Articles of
 “ their Religious CREED. But these Principles having
 “ met with Opposition” [viz. about Sixty Years after],
 “ from *Arminius* and his SECTARIES, the Controversy
 “ was soon” [i. e. soon after the Rise of Arminianism in
 the *Dutch* Provinces, at the Period aforesaid] “ brought
 “ into this Island, and BEGAN here to diffuse itself (y).”
 —Again: “ ALL the first REFORMERS adopted these Prin-
 “ ciples,” viz. the Principles of “ *Absolute Decrees* (z).”
 No wonder, therefore, when the Arminians started up to
 oppose the Antient Faith, that, “ Throughout the Na-
 “ tion, they lay under the Reproach of INNOVATION and
 “ HERESY. Their Protectors were stigmatized; their
 “ Tenets canvassed; their Views represented as dangerous
 “ and pernicious (a).”

Hitherto, we have dealt in generals. We shall now (though so plain a Case is far from requiring it) descend, briefly, to particulars.

Those Divines, to whom, under God, this Kingdom is chiefly indebted for its Reformation from Popery, were *Wickliff*, who laid the Basis; and *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, *Latimer*, *Hooper*, *Martin Bucer*, and *Peter Martyr*. Though the two latter were Foreigners, yet, as they greatly assisted in that important Work, they deservedly stand high on the List of *English* Reformers.—*Wickliff*’s Calvinism has been already proved. I procede, therefore, to the rest.

I. Dr

(y) *Hume*’s Hist. of Engl. Vol. 6. p. 211.—Octav. Edit. 1767.

(z) *Ibid.* Vol. 5. p. 572.

(a) *Ibid.* Vol. 6. p. 211.

I. Dr *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, went as far as he could, or at least as far as he dared, in promoting the Protestant Cause, during the last boisterous Years of *Henry VIII.* For some Time after his Elevation to the Primacy, he was far from possessing that strong Evangelical Light, which he afterwards attained. God led him from Step to Step. He advanced rather slowly, but solidly and surely. He was not (for Instance) clear, even as to the Manner of Christ's Presence in the Eucharist, until after the Year 1538 (b). But *the Path of the Just is a Light that shines more and more to the perfect Day.* His Knowledge of Divine Things was abundantly brighter, when *Edward VI.* ascended the Throne in 1547. The famous *Catechism*, ascribed to Bishop *Ponet*, and of which I have elsewhere (c) given an Account; received the

Sanction

(b) "The Archbishop was not yet convinced of the Falshood of Transubstantiation, but continued a stiff Maintainer of the Corporal Presence; as appears from his being unhappily concerned in the Prosecution of *Lambert*, who was burnt, Nov. 20. 1538." *Downes*, ubi supra, p. 13.

(c) In my Pamphlet, entitled, *The Church of England vindicated*, &c. p. 42—44. —Dr *John Ponet* was translated, from *Rochester*, to *Winchester*, in 1550. According to *Godwin*, he was one of the most learned Persons of the Age. "Græcam Linguam callebat ad amissim, Mathematicarum porrò scientiarum ad Miraculum usque peritus:" i. e. a most masterly Græcian, and a Prodigy for his Skill in Mathematics. He excelled also in the Mechanic Part of Philosophy: witness the curious Clock, which he constructed for the Use of *Henry VIII.* It not only pointed to the Hours, and to the Day of the Month; but shewed the Lunar Variations, together with the Ebbing and Flowing of the Sea. While *Edward VI.* lived (who had loved him from his earliest Childhood, and had reaped much Benefit from his Sermons,) the good Bishop enjoyed an uninterrupted Series of Honors and Repose. But, on the Accession of *Mary*, he retired to *Germany*, where he died at *Strasburgh*, August 11, 1556. aged only 40 Years. Vide *Godwin*. De Præsul. Angl. p. 237, 238.

Sanction of *Cranmer's* own Subscription. We must, therefore, admit, either that *Cranmer* was as absolute a Predestinarian as *Calvin* himself; or charge the venerable Archbishop with such extreme Dissimulation and Hypocrisy, as are utterly incompatible with common Honesty. For, this Catechism (as I have shewn in that Part of my Tract referred to below) asserted the Doctrines of *Predestination*, *Efficacious Grace*, *Free Justification*, and *Final Perseverance*, in the fullest, strongest, and most explicit Terms: and, if solemn Subscription to so strict a Test be not a sufficient Proof of a Man's real Belief, all Integrity and social Confidence are at an End. That *Cranmer* actually *did* set his Hand to it, appears from the unexceptionable Testimony of his Brother-Bishop and Brother-Martyr, Dr *Ridley*.

“ A *Catechism*,” says Mr *Strype*, “ for the Instruction of
 “ Children in the *FUNDAMENTALS of true Religion*, passed
 “ the same Synod [*viz.* the Synod of 1552]: but who
 “ was the Author, was not known in those Days. Bishop
 “ *Ridley* was charged to be the Author and Publisher
 “ thereof, by *Ward* and *Weston*, in the Disputation with
 “ him [held, in the succeeding Reign of *Mary*, prior to
 “ his Martyrdom] at *Oxford*. *Ridley* declared, *he was*
 “ *not*: but confessed, that he *saw the Book*, *perused it after*
 “ *it was made*, and *noted many Things for it*; and so CON-
 “ SENTED to the Book. *Weston* then told *Ridley*, that he
 “ [*viz.* *Ridley*], being then a Bishop in his *Ruff*, had
 “ made him [*i. e.* had made *Weston*] subscribe it. But
 “ *Ridley* replied, *he [had] compelled no Man to subscribe*:
 “ *indeed, he [himself] had set his hand to it, AND SO DID*
 “ *CRANMER*; and that then it [*i. e.* the Catechism] *was*
 “ *given to others of the Convocation to set their Hands, but*
 “ *without Compulsion (d).*” This Passage merits a Remark
 or two.

I. The

(d) *Strype's Eccles. Memorials*, Vol. 2. p. 368.

1. The Catechism abovementioned (by some, called King *Edward's* Catechism ; by some, Bishop (*e*) *Ponet's* ; by others, Dr *Alexander Nowel's*, because afterwards enlarged and republished by that learned Dean, in the Reign of *Elizabeth*) was approved and passed by a public Synod, held, at *London*, under the express Warrant of King *Edward* himself.—2. The Synod, which approved, passed, and subscribed this CATECHISM, was the self-same Synod, or Convocation, which proved, passed, and subscribed the BOOK OF ARTICLES (*f*) : though the latter were not published

(*e*) Mr *Strype* believed, that Dr *Alexander Nowel* had the chief Hand in framing this Catechism. I suppose, it is on the Authority of Bishop *Bale*, that it is sometimes singly attributed to Dr *Ponet*. Possibly, *Ponet* might digest and throw it into Form. But its rough Materials were, most probably, furnished by the joint Care of the Reformers in general ; and of *Cranmer* in particular, who was one of the prime Agents, in every Thing that related to Religion, during this whole Reign.

(*f*) “ While the Parliament was sitting this Winter, a Synod “ also was held, wherein was framed and concluded a Book of “ *Articles of Religion*, purified and reformed from the Errors of “ Popery and other Sects ;—for the avoiding of Controversy in “ Opinions, and the Establishment of a godly Concord in certain “ Matters of Religion.—A *Catechism*, for the Instruction of Children in the Fundamentals of true Religion, passed THE SAID “ SYNOD.”—*Strype*, ut supra.

Dr *Fuller* also ascribes the *Catechism* to the same Persons who drew up the *Articles* : i. e. to the REFORMERS themselves “ With “ these” [i. e. with the *Articles of Religion* agreed upon in Convocation,] “ was bound a *Catechism*, younger in Age (as bearing “ Date of the next Year,) but OF THE SAME EXTRACTION, relating to this Convocation, as Author thereof.” Where let it be observed, that the Reformers presided personally in this Convocation, and were the very Life and Movers of all that was acted in it.—*Fuller* goes on : “ Indeed it ” [*viz.* the *Catechism*] “ was “ first compiled (as appears by the King's Patent prefixed) by a “ single Divine, charactered ‘ *pious and learned* :’ but afterwards “ perused

lished until the Summer following.—Consequently, 3. The Church of England is indebted for those *Articles* which at this Day are subscribed by her Clergy, to the Care and Piety of that very Synod who publicly and solemnly set their Seal to that *Catechism*.—4. The *Catechism* being fraught with the highest Calvinism, they, who subscribed it (and *Cranmer* among the rest), were either temporizing *Hypocrites*, or sincere *Calvinists*.—5. Bishop *Ridley* evidently had an Hand in compiling it: witness his own Words, already quoted, testifying that he had “*noted many Things for it;*” i. e. in modern Language, he had *furnished some Hints toward the Materials out of which it had been framed*.—6. He owned and assented to the Contents of it, in the Face of the Popish Court at *Oxford*, by whom he was tried and condemned to the Flames.—7. From what passed on that Occasion, it is conspicuous, that nothing gives the Church of *Rome* so much Offence, as the *Calvinistic* Doctrines asserted in that Protestant *Catechism*: Mr *Sellon*, therefore, is prodigiously mistaken, in affirming, that, as *Predestinarians*, “Our Reformers did only
“ say

“ perused and allowed BY THE BISHOPS, and other learned Men,
“ &c. and by Royal Authority commanded to all Subjects, [and]
“ commanded to all Schoolmasters to teach it their Scholars.”—
Fuller's Church Hist. Book 7. p. 421.—The “*single Divine*,” characterized, in the King's Patent, as “*pious and learned;*” was probably, Bishop *Ponet*: to whom the Care, of revising and methodizing the *Catechism*, seems to have been committed; and whom *Heylin* himself characterizes as “An excellent *Græcian*, well-studied with the *Antient Fathers*, and one of the *ablest Mathematicians* which those Times produced.” *Heylin* also observes, concerning the *CATECHISM* itself, that it was “bound up with
“ the Book of *Articles*, countenanced by the King's *Letters Patents* prefixed before it, approved by many *Bishops* and learned
“ Men, and generally voiced to be another of the Products of
“ this *Convocation* :” though himself, for Reasons sufficiently obvious, affects to doubt of the latter Circumstance. *Misc. Tracts*, p. 551, 553.

“ say over again those Lessons which they had learned in “ the *Romish* Schools.” — 8. The Use of This *Catechism* was enjoined by the united Authority of Church and State. Both the Synod, and the King’s Privy Council, concurred in giving it their Sanction. “ In *May*, the next Year,” says *Strype*, “ viz. 1553, the Council sent their Letters “ abroad, in Behalf of this *Catechism*, ENJOINING it to “ be taught to Scholars, *As the GROUND and FOUNDATION of their* [Religious] *Learning*; as it is expressed “ in the Warrant Book (g).” — Whence it is evident, 9. That the *Reformers* and Protestant *Clergy* of England considered the Belief of *Predestination*, and its relative Doctrines, as *essential* and *fundamental* to the very Existence of *Christianity* itself.—10. The Injunctions of the Council, respecting this *Catechism*, were issued at the same Time that the *Articles* themselves were published, viz. in *May*, 1553. The *Catechism*, therefore, was designed as a *larger Display* of those Evangelical Principles, which were *virtually*, but more *briefly*, contained in the *Articles*. The Reason is evident. The *Articles* were intended for the *Clergy*, who were supposed not to need so extended and minute a Detail of Doctrine: a compendious Summary would, to them, answer the End, full as well. But the Case was judged to be different with the *Laity* of that Time. It seemed necessary, that the Church *Articles* should be explained to *them*, in a more particular and expanded Manner; especially, to young Persons: and therefore the *Catechism* was enjoined, as a Kind of familiar and copious Elucidation of what the *Articles* comprized in a narrower Compass. The *Articles* were (if I may so speak) the *Text*: the *Catechism* was the *Commentary*.

Peter Heylin’s Concession, in Favor of this *Catechism*, is very observable. “ For my Part,” says that Arminian, “ I can see no possible Inconvenience which can follow “ on it, in yielding so far as to ADMIT the Passages before

“ recited ” [viz. the Passages cited by *Prynne* from the said Catechism, which happen to be the *very same* Passages which I too shall presently cite from it in this Section] “ to
 “ be FULLY consonant to the TRUE, GENUINE Sense
 “ and PROPER MEANING of ALL, but more especially
 “ of our 9th, 10th, 13th, 16th and 17th ARTICLES, then
 “ newly composed. So that WHATSOEVER is positively and
 “ clearly affirmed in THIS CATECHISM, of any of the
 “ Points now controverted, may be safely implied as the
 “ UNDOUBTED DOCTRINE of our CHURCH AND AR-
 “ TICLES (b).”

The Sum of all, so far as concerns *Cranmer*, is; That, if he was an HONEST Man (which I see no Reason to suspect.) he must have been, what Arminians would now call, a RIGID *Predestinarian*.—Nor is this Alternative limited to that good Archbishop. It holds equally true of *all* and *every* Divine, who had any Hand in our excellent Reformation.

As my former *Vindication of the Church of England, from the Charge of Arminianism*, has been long out of print; an Extract from the above celebrated Catechism, though already given in that Pamphlet, seems due to the Readers of this: and the rather, as Mr *Sellon* has been so indecently rash, as to affirm (p. 53.) that this valuable Monument of good old Church-Doctrine “ *Does not contain much more*
 “ *sound Divinity than the old KORAN of MAHOMET.*” Whether *Cranmer*, and those other excellent Men, who were the Fathers of our English Reformation, deserve the Name of *Mahometans*, with which this ignorant, foul-mouthed Writer dares to brand their venerable Memories, will best appear, from the following Passages which occur in the Catechism itself. The Speakers are supposed to be *Master* and *Scholar*.

“ As many as are in this Faith steadfast, were FORE-
 “ CHOSEN, PREDESTINATED, and APPOINTED TO
 “ EVER-

“ EVERLASTING LIFE, BEFORE THE WORLD WAS
 “ MADE. Witnesse hereof, they have within their Hearts
 “ the SPIRIT of Christ, the AUTHOR, EARNEST, and
 “ UNFAILABLE PLEDGE of their Faith. Which FAITH
 “ ONLY is able to perceive the Mysteries of God; only
 “ brings PEACE unto the Heart; only taketh hold on
 “ THE RIGHTEOUSNESS which is in Christ Jesus.

“ Master. *Doth then the Spirit alone, and Faith (leepe
 “ we never so securely, or stand we never so recheless or slothfull),
 “ so worke all Things for us, as, without any Helpe of our
 “ owne, to carry us idle up to Heaven?*

“ Schol. I use, Master, as you have taught me, to make
 “ a Difference betweene the *Cause* and the *Effect*. The
 “ first, principal, and most proper Cause of our *Justifi-*
 “ *cation and Salvation*, is the GOODNESS and LOVE of GOD,
 “ whereby he CHOSE US FOR HIS, BEFORE HE MADE
 “ THE WORLD. After that, God GRANTETH us to be
 “ CALLED, by the Preaching of the Gospel of Jesus
 “ Christ, WHEN THE SPIRIT OF THE LORD IS POUR-
 “ ED INTO US: by whose Guiding and Governance we
 “ be led to settle our Trust in God, and hope for the
 “ Performance of his Promise.—From the same SPIRIT
 “ also cometh our SANCTIFICATION; the Love of God,
 “ and of our Neighbor; Justice, and Uprightnesse of
 “ Life. Finally, to say all in summe: WHATEVER IS
 “ IN US, OR MAY BE DONE OF US, HONEST, PURE,
 “ TRUE, AND GOOD; it ALTOGETHER springeth out of
 “ THIS most pleasant Rocke, from THIS most plentiful
 “ Fountaine, The GOODNESS, LOVE, CHOICE, and UN-
 “ CHANGEABLE PURPOSE of GOD. HE is the CAUSE:
 “ the rest are the FRUITS and EFFECTS.

“ Yet are also the Goodnesse, Choice, and SPIRIT of
 “ God, and CHRIST himselfe, Causes, conjoined and
 “ coupled each with other; whiche may be reckoned
 “ among the principal Causes of Salvation. As oft, there-
 “ fore, as we use to say, that we are *made righteous*, and
 “ *saved*,

“ *saved*, by *Faith only*; it is meant thereby, that *Faith*,
 “ or rather *Trust*, alone, doth lay Hand upon, under-
 “ stand, and perceive our righteous-making to be GIVEN
 “ us of God FREELY, that is to say, BY NO DESERTS OF
 “ OUR OWN, but by the FREE GRACE OF THE ALMIGH-
 “ TY FATHER. Moreover, *Faith* doth ingender in us
 “ Love of our Neighbor, and such Workes as God is pleas-
 “ ed withall: for, if it be a lively and TRUE *Faith*, quick-
 “ ened by the Holy Ghost, she is the Mother of all GOOD
 “ SAYING and DOING.

“ By this short Tale, it is evident, *whence*, and by *what*
 “ *Meanes* we attaine to be righteous. For, NOT BY THE
 “ WORTHINESS OF OUR DESERVINGS, were we either
 “ heretofore CHOSEN, or long agoe SAVED; but by the
 “ ONLY MERCY of God, and PURE GRACE of Christ
 “ our LORD: whereby we were in Him MADE TO DOE
 “ these good Workes, that God had APPOINTED for us
 “ to walke in. And although *good Workes* cannot de-
 “ serve to make us righteous before God, yet do they so
 “ cleave unto *Faith*, that neither *Faith* can be found with-
 “ out them, nor Good Workes be any where found with-
 “ out *Faith*.

“ Immortality and blessed Life God hath provided for
 “ his CHOSEN, before the Foundations of the World were
 “ laid.

“ As for the Sacrifices, Clensings, Washings, and
 “ other Ceremonies of the Law; they were Shadows,
 “ Types, Images, and Figures, of the true and eternal
 “ Sacrifice that JESUS CHRIST made upon the Crosse; by
 “ whose Benefit alone, ALL THE SINNES OF ALL BE-
 “ LEEVERS, from the Beginning of the World, ARE PAR-
 “ DONED, by the SOLE MERCY of God, and NOT BY
 “ ANY MERITS OF THEIR OWNE.

“ As soone as ever *Adam* and *Eve* had eaten of the for-
 “ bidden Fruit, they both DYED: that is, they were not
 “ only liable to the Death of the Body, but they likewise

“ LOST

" LOST THE LIFE OF THE SOULE, which is Righteous-
 " nesse. And forthwith the *Divine Image* is obscured in
 " them; and these Lineaments of *Righteousnesse, Holinesse,*
 " *Truth, and Knowledge of God,* which were exceeding
 " comely, were disordered, and almost obliterated. The
 " *terrene Image* only remained; coupled with *Unrighte-*
 " *ousnesse, Fraud, carnal Affections, and grosse Ignorance* of
 " Divine and Heavenly Things. From thence, also, pro-
 " ceeded the Infirmary of our Flesh. From thence, that
 " Corruption and Confusion of the Affections and Desires.
 " Hence, that PLAGUE, hence that SEMINARY AND NU-
 " TRIMENT OF ALL SINNE, with which Mankinde is
 " infected, which is called ORIGINAL SINNE. More-
 " over, NATURE is so DEPRAVED AND CAST DOWNE;
 " that, unlesse the GOODNESSE and MERCY of Almighty
 " God had helped us by THE MEDICINE OF GRACE, as
 " in Body we were thrust downe into all the Miserys of
 " Death, so it was [i. e. it *would have been*] necessary that
 " ALL Men of ALL Sorts should be cast into eternal Tor-
 " ments, and Fire which cannot bee quenched.

" The Holy Ghost is called *holy*, not onely for his owne
 " Holinesse, but because THE ELECT OF GOD are made
 " holy by Him. The CHURCH is, THE COMPANY OF
 " THOSE WHO ARE CALLED TO ETERNAL LIFE BY
 " THE HOLY GHOST, by whom she is GUIDED and GO-
 " VERNED: which, since she cannot be understood by
 " the Light of Sense or Nature, is justly placed among
 " the Number of those Things which are to be beleaved.
 " And it [i. e. the *Church*] is therefore called the *Catholicke*,
 " that is, the *Universal* Assembly of the Faithful; because
 " it is not tied to any certaine Place."

From the above Extracts, an Idea may be formed of the
 Doctrines, which *Cranmer*, and his Fellow-reformers, and
 the Members of the Church of *England*, maintained in
 those Days of Protestant Purity. In such high Estimation
 was this Evangelical Catechism held, that King *Edward*
 himself

himself honored it with a prefatory Epistle (dated at *Greenwich*, May 20.) “*Commanding and charging all Schoolmasters whatsoever, within his Dominions, as they did reverence his Authority, and as they would avoid his Royal Displeasure, to teach this Catechism, diligently and carefully, in all and every their Schools: THAT SO, THE YOUTH OF THE KINGDOME MIGHT BE SETTLED IN THE GROUNDS OF TRUE RELIGION, AND FURTHERED IN GOD’S WORSHIP.*” Add to this, that it was not only published in *English*, and annexed to the Church-Articles, for the Instruction of the King’s own Subjects; but also in *Latin*, that Foreigners might, with the more certainty, judge for themselves, and see, with their own Eyes, what were the genuine and authentic Doctrines of our Reformed Church.

Archbishop *Cranmer’s* Calvinism did not expire with the Reign of King *Edward*. The great and good Prelate had, it seems, soon after the Accession of *Mary*, been falsely accused of temporizing in some religious Matters, with a View to ingratiate himself with the new Popish Queen. This he courageously disproved, in a printed Paper, to which he set his Name; and wherein, among others, is the following remarkable Paragraph: “*And although many, either Unlearned or Malicious, do report that Mr Peter Martyr is unlearned; yet, if the Queen’s Highness will grant thereunto, I, with the said Mr Peter Martyr, and other four or five, which I shall chuse, will, by God’s Grace, take upon us to DEFEND, not only the Common Prayers of the Church, the Ministration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonys, but also ALL THE DOCTRINE and Religion SET OUT BY OUR SOVEREIGN LORD, KING EDWARD VI. to be MORE PURE, and ACCORDING TO GOD’S WORD, than any other that hath been used in England these THOUSAND YEARS (i).*”—Now, the *Catechism*, already cited, was a Part, and a very distinguished Part, of “*the Doctrine and Religion set forth by King Edward VI.*” Consequently, in the above Challenge, that *Catechism*

(i) *Fox*, Vol. III. p. 77.

teehsm was one of those Protestant Regulations, which *Cranmer* publicly offered to defend against the whole Army of Popish Disputants.—Surely, if ever there was a *Calvinist* on Earth, *Cranmer* (*k*) was one ! And so was,

II. Dr *Nicholas Ridley* : that illustrious Reformer, Prelate, and Martyr. He became Bishop of *Rocheſter*, in 1547 ; and was tranſlated to *London*, in 1550, on the Deprivation of *Bonner*. Every Body knows, that he was finally burned at *Oxford*, A. D. 1555. at one Stake with Bishop *Latimer*. As the two Epifcopal Martyrs were led out to the Place of Execution (which was before *Baliol College*,) they looked up to *Cranmer's* Priſon-window, in Hopes of ſeeing him at it, that they might bid the laſt Farewell to their beloved Metropolitan. But, at that Inſtant, the Archbiſhop was “ Engaged in Diſputation with ſome Friars : “ ſo that he was not then at his Window. But he looked “ after them, with great Tenderneſs : and, kneeling down, “ prayed earneſtly, that God would ſtrengthen their Faith “ and Patience, in that their laſt, but painful Paſſage (*l*).” Being arrived at the Stake, *Ridley* embraced *Latimer* with ſurprizing chearfulneſs, and teſtified his Assurance of Divine Support, in theſe remarkable Words : “ Be of good “ Heart, Brother ; for God will either alluſe the Fury “ of the Flame, or elſe ſtrengthen us to abide it.” Nor was *Latimer* leſs filled with Joy in the Holy Ghoſt : for, when the Fire was kindled at *Ridley's* Feet, the former thus

(*k*) Dr *Edwards* cites a Paſſage from this renowned Archbiſhop, which may ſerve to confirm the general Tenor of the Evidences already produced. In *Cranmer's* ſecond Treatiſe againſt *Gardiner*, theſe Words, it ſeems, occur : “ Our Savior Chriſt, according to “ the Will of his Eternal Father, when the Time thereof was fully “ accompliſhed, taking our Nature upon him, came into the World, “ from the high Throne of his Father ; to give Light to them that were “ in Darkneſs and the Shadow of Death, and to preach, and give “ Pardon and full Remiſſion of Sins to ALL HIS ELECTED.”—See *Edwards's Veritas Redux*, p. 526.

(*l*) *Burnet's Hiſt. of the Reform.* Vol. 2. p. 296.

thus encouraged his blessed Fellow-Victim ; “ Be of good
 “ Comfort, Mr *Ridley*, and play the Man ! We shall, this
 “ Day, by God’s Grace, light such a Candle in England,
 “ as, I trust, shall never be put out (*m*).”

In producing a Specimen of Bishop *Ridley*’s rooted Attachment to the Calvinian Doctrines, I shall begin with a general, but a very decisive, Proof of it : I mean, the extreme Veneration, in which, to the End of his Life, he held that excellent *Catechism* of the Church of England, published in 1553. The Abstracts from it, which have been already lain before the Reader, demonstrate, that it was drawn up in the highest Strains of Calvinism. The two following Passages, written by Bishop *Ridley*, during his Imprisonment, and just before his Martyrdom ; will, consequently, demonstrate him to have been a very high Calvinist. “ Finally, I hear say, that the *Catechism*, which
 “ was lately set forth in the English Tongue, is now” [*viz.* after the Restoration of Popery by Queen *Mary*] “ in
 “ every Pulpit condemned. Oh, devilish Malice ! and
 “ most spitefully injurious to the Redemption of Mankind
 “ purchased by Jesus Christ ! Indeed, *Satan* could not long
 “ suffer, that so GREAT LIGHT should be spread abroad
 “ in the World (*n*).”—In his admirable Farewell-Letter to his Relations, he observes, that, while Protestantism flourished under pious King *Edward*, “ The Church of Eng-
 “ land had, through the infinite Goodness and abundant
 “ Grace of Almighty God, great Riches of heavenly Treas-
 “ ure ; great Plenty of God’s true, sincere Word ; the
 “ true and wholesome Administration of Christ’s Holy
 “ Sacraments; the whole Profession of Christ’s Religion,
 “ truly and plainly set forth in Baptism ; *the plain Decla-*
 “ *ration and Understanding of the same, taught in THE HOLY*
 “ *CATECHISM, to have been learned of ALL TRUE CHRIS-*
 “ *TIANS* (*o*).”

Another

(*m*) *Fox*, III. p. 430.

(*n*) *Fox*, *ibid.* p. 372.

(*o*) *Fox*, *ibid.* p. 432.

Another general Proof of *Ridley's* Soundness in the Faith, may be taken from the pathetic Anguish, with which he lamented the Abolition of the *Homilies* and *Articles*. The Church of England, says he, "Had also holy and whole-
 " some HOMILYS, in Commendation of the principal Vir-
 " tues. She had, in Matters of Controversy, ARTICLES
 " so penned and framed after the holy Scriptures, and
 " grounded upon the true Understanding of God's Word,
 " that, in short Time, if they had been universally re-
 " ceived, they would have been able to have set in Christ's
 " true Religion, and to have expelled many false Errors
 " and Heresys. But, alas ! I may well cry out, O God,
 " the Heathens are come into thy Heritage : they have defiled
 " thy holy Temple, and made Jerusalem an Heap of Stones.
 " These Thieves" [meaning the Papists, superinduced
 by Queen *Mary*] " be of Samaria. These Sabæans and
 " Chaldeans, these Robbers (*p*), have rushed out of their
 " Dens, and have robbed the Church of England of all the
 " foresaid Holy Treasure of God (*q*) : " viz. of her Cate-
 chism,

(*p*) Would to God, that the *present* Age afforded none of these ! No Protestant Sabæans, no Samaritans in Crape ! who, even while they derive their Maintenance from the Breasts of the Church, seek to rob her of her choicest " Holy Treasure," the DOCTRINES which are her Crown of Glory—The DOCTRINES, which the Robbers themselves, kneeling at God's Altar, have solemnly *vowed* to maintain—The DOCTRINES, to which they have also deliberately affixed the *Subscription* of the Hand—The DOCTRINES, to which they have not only *subscribed* and *vowed* at the Time of their Ordination, but ratified both Vow and Subscription by immediately receiving the Symbols of Christ's precious Body and Blood as a *Seal* to the Whole ! — If incontestable Fact did not compel us to the contrary, we could hardly believe it possible for the utmost Depravity of Human Nature to aim at the Subversion of a Church, which the intentional Subverters are tied, by such a Chain of Engagements, to support.

(*q*) Fox, *ibid.* p. 432.

chism, Liturgy, Homilies, and Articles. Thus did this plaintive Nightingal warble forth his Woes. Thus did he hang his Harp upon the Willows, and mourn over the Ruins of Zion.—Blessed be God, there were Mercies in Reserve for this Kingdom, which the weeping Martyr little imagined, and which soon reversed the Face of Things. *Ridley* was executed, *October* 16, 1555. On the 17th of *November*, 1558, *Queen Mary* went to give an Account of her Butcheries to God; and *Elizabeth* mounted the Throne.

The above general Evidences of Bishop *Ridley's* Principles, are extremely strong and conclusive. I shall, however, lay before the Reader some farther Proofs, still more explicit and particular.

The Doctrine of *Election*, or Predestination to Life, appears to have been a favorite Article with this eminent Servant of God. Making Mention of Bishop *Farrar*, Bishop *Hooper*, Mr *Rogers*, and others, who had lately poured out their Souls unto Death for the Testimony of Christ; he observes, these “were burned at *Smithfield* in *London*, with “many others in *Essex* and *Kent*: WHOSE NAMES ARE “WRITTEN IN THE BOOK OF LIFE (r).” Again: “I “doubt not in the infinite Goodness of my Lord God, nor “in the faithful Fellowship of his ELECT and CHOSEN “PEOPLE (s).” His Definition of the true, Invisible Church, is not a little remarkable: By the Church of England, says *Ridley*, “I mean the Congregation of the TRUE “CHOSEN CHILDREN OF GOD in this Realm of *England*: “whom I acknowledge, not only to be my Neighbors, “but rather the Congregation of my spiritual Brethren “and Sisters in Christ; yea, Members of one Body, wherein, by God’s GRACE, I am and have been grafted in “Christ (t).” In his pathetic “*Farewell to all afflicted “for the Gospel*,” he thus concludes: “Farewell, Farewell, O ye, the whole and universal Congregation of

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(r) See *Fox*, III. p. 374.

(s) *Ibid.* p. 432.

(t) *Ibid.* p. 432.

“ THE CHOSEN OF GOD, here living upon Earth ; the
 “ true *Church Militant* of Christ ; the true *Mystical Body*
 “ of Christ ; the very *Household* and *Family* of God, and
 “ the sacred *Temple* of the holy Ghost ; farewell ! Farewell,
 “ O thou *little Flock* of the high, heavenly Pastors of
 “ Christ : For to thee it hath PLEASED the heavenly Fa-
 “ ther to GIVE an everlasting and eternal Kingdom.—
 “ Farewell, thou spiritual House of God, thou holy and
 “ royal Priesthood, thou CHOSEN GENERATION, thou
 “ holy Nation, thou won Spouse ; Farewell, Farewell (u) !”

God’s *Election* of his People is founded on his free *Love* to them from everlasting. This Love is unalterable and perpetual. Whence the following just Observation of *Ridley* : “ In all Ages, God hath had his own Manner, after
 “ his secret and unsearchable Wisdom, to use his ELECT,
 “ sometimes to deliver them, and to keep them safe ; and
 “ sometimes to suffer them to drink of Christ’s Cup, i. e.
 “ to feel the smart and to feel the whip. And though
 “ the Flesh smarteth at the one, and feeleth Ease at the
 “ other ; is glad of the one, and sore vexed in the other ;
 “ yet THE LORD IS ALL ONE toward them, in both : and
 “ LOVETH them NO LESS when he suffereth them to be
 “ beaten ; yea, and to be put to bodily Death, than when
 “ he worketh Wonders for their marvellous Delivery.—
 “ This his LOVE toward them, howsoever the World doth
 “ judge of it, is ALL ONE. He loved as well *Peter* and
 “ *Paul*, when (after they had, according to his blessed WILL,
 “ PLEASURE, and PROVIDENCE, finished their Courses, and
 “ done their Services APPOINTED THEM BY HIM, here,
 “ in preaching of his Gospel) the one was beheaded, and
 “ the other was hanged or crucified by the cruel Tyrant
 “ *Nero* ; as when he sent his Angel to bring *Peter* out of
 “ Prison, and [as when] for *Paul*’s Delivery he made all
 “ the Doors of the Prison to fly wide open (x).”

As *Ridley* thus believed the Love, with which God embraces his People, to be unchangeably and forever the same,
 amidst

amidst all the varying Dispensations of Providence; he must, by virtue of that Principle, have likewise believed the *final Perseverance* of those who are thus loved and chosen. According to him, Perseverance is the special *Gift* of God: “I wish you Grace in God,” says he, “and Love of the Truth; without which, truly established in Mens Hearts BY THE MIGHTY HAND OF THE ALMIGHTY GOD, it is no more POSSIBLE to stand by the Truth in Time of Trouble, than it is for Wax to abide the Heat of the Fire (z).” Omnipotent Grace being the only Root of Perseverance; the Martyr cannot help breaking out, elsewhere, into this pious Exclamation: “Well is he, that ever he was born, for whom thus graciously God hath provided! having GRACE of God, and STRENGTH of the holy Ghost, to stand STEDFASTLY in the Height of the Storm! happy is he, that ever he was born, whom God, his heavenly Father, hath vouchsafed to APPOINT to glorify him, and to edify his Church, by the Effusion of his Blood (a)!”

It

(z) Ibid. 372.

(a) Ibid. 446.—To the same Effect he speaks in his Conference with *Latimer*: “The NUMBER,” says *Ridley*, “of the Criers under the Altar MUST NEEDS BE FULFILLED: if we be SECREGATED thereto, happy be we. It is the greatest Promotion that God giveth in this World, to be such *Philippians*, to whom it is GIVEN not only to BELIEVE, but also to suffer. But who is able to do these Things” [viz. to *believe* in Christ, and to *suffer* for his Sake?] “Surely, all our Ability, all our Sufficiency is of God. He *requireth*, and PROMISETH” [i. e. he promises to *work* in us the Duties and Graces he *requires* of us]—“Pray for me; pray for me: I say, pray for me. For I am sometimes so fearful, that I would creep into a Mouse-hole. Sometimes, God doth visit me again with his Comfort. So he cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know my Infirmary; to the Intent to give Thanks to HIM that is worthy; lest I should rob him of his Due, as many do, and almost all the World.” *Fox*, *ibid.* p. 368.

It was an essential Branch of *Ridley's* Theology, that this great Gift of PERSEVERANCE is vouchsafed to all the Elect. "The Father," says he, "who guides THEM "THAT BE Christ's to Christ, is more mighty than all "they," [i. e. than all the Persecutors of his People,] "and no Man is able to pull them" [i. e. to pull those who belong to Christ] "out of the Father's Hands (b)." — What a strong Affiance in this grand Article, do his following Words display ! "Blessed be God, who has "GIVEN you a manly Courage, and hath so strengthened "you, in the inward Man, BY THE POWER OF HIS SPIRIT ; that you can contemn, as well all the Terrors, "as also the vain Flatteries and Allurements, of the "World : esteeming them as Vanities, mere Trifles, "and Things of Nought. Who hath also WROUGHT, "PLANTED, and SURELY ESTABLISHED, in your "Hearts, so STEDFAST a Faith and Love of the Lord "Jesus Christ; joined with such CONSTANCY, that, by "no Engines of Antichrist, be they never so terrible or "plausible, ye will suffer any other Jesus, or any other "Christ, to be forced upon you, besides Him, whom the "Prophets have spoken of (c)." — "He that is in us, is "stronger than he that is in the World : and the Lord "promiseth unto us, that, for the ELECTS' Sake, the "Days of Wickedness shall be shortened (d)." — "Ye, "therefore, my Brethren, who pertain unto Christ, and "have the Seal of God marked in your Foreheads ; that "is, to wit, who are sealed with the Earnest of the Spirit "to be A PECULIAR PEOPLE of God ; quit yourselves "like Men, and be strong. Ye know, that ALL, that "is born of God, OVERCOMETH the World : and this "is our Victory that overcometh the World, even our "FAITH. Let the World fret, let it rage never so "much, NO MAN CAN TAKE US OUT OF THE FATHER'S HANDS, for HE is greater than All. — Who

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" shall

(b) Ibid. p. 370.

(c) Ibid. 371.

(d) Ibid.

“ shall lay any Thing to the Charge of God’s ELECT ?
 “ It is God that justifieth ; who then shall condemn ?—
 “ Who shall SEPARATE us from the Love of Christ ?—
 “ We are CERTAINLY PERSUADED, with St *Paul*, by
 “ the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that NO KIND OF
 “ THING shall be able to separate us from the Love of
 “ God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord (e).” I shall
 cite him but once more on the Head of Perseverance :
 “ I consider the Subtilties of *Satan*, and how he is able,
 “ by his false Persuasions, to deceive, IF IT WERE POS-
 “ SIBLE, even THE CHOSEN of God (f).”

Ridley’s View of Providence was equally Calvinistic.
 “ Know ye, that the heavenly Father hath ever a gracious
 “ Eye and Respect toward you, and a fatherly Provision
 “ for you : so that, without His Knowledge and Permif-
 “ sion, nothing can do you Harm. Let us therefore cast
 “ all our Care upon Him, and He shall provide that
 “ which shall be best for us. For if, of two small Spar-
 “ rows, which both are sold for a Mite, one of them
 “ lighteth not on the Ground without your Father, and
 “ all the Hairs of our Head are numbered ; fear not, saith
 “ our Master Christ, for ye are of more Value than many
 “ small Sparrows (g).”

His Doctrine, concerning the Necessity and Efficacy of
 Divine Influence, may be learned from that striking
 Prayer of his : “ The Lord vouchsafe to open the Eyes of
 “ the Blind, with the Light of Grace ; that they may see,
 “ and perceive, and understand the Words of God, after
 “ the Mind of His Spirit (h).” — And that he supposed
 Redemption to be limited to a certain Number, the fol-
 lowing Passage clearly evinces : “ The Death and Pas-
 “ sion of Christ our Saviour was, and is, the one, only,
 “ sufficient, and everlasting available Sacrifice, SATIS-
 “ FACTORY FOR ALL THE ELECT OF GOD, from
Adam,

(e) Ibid. 372.

(g) Ibid. 437.

(f) Ibid. 442.

(h) Ibid. 445.

“ Adam, the First, to the Last that shall be born in the
 “ End of the World (i).”

So much for the *Doctrines* of this great Man. A Word or two, concerning his general Character, and usual Manner of living, may not be unacceptable to the Reader.

He was born in that Part of *Northumberland*, called *Tynedale*, near the Borders of *Scotland*: and received the Finishings of his Education, partly at *Paris*, and partly at *Cambridge*. “ His Behavior,” say the Compilers of his Article in the Biographical Dictionary, “ was very obliging, and very pious; without Hypocrisy, or Monkish Austerity: for, very often, he would shoot in the Bow, and play at Tennis; and was eminent for the great Charities he bestowed (k).” While he resided on his Vicarage of *Herne*, in *Kent*, Providence directed him to the Perusal of *Bertram’s* celebrated Treatise on the Lord’s Supper, written about Seven Hundred Years before (l): which effectually convinced him of the Falseness and Absurdity of *Transubstantiation*. By his Acquaintance with *Cranmer*, and other excellent Men of that Time; and, above all, by his unwearied Application to the Holy Scriptures; his Eyes were farther and farther opened: and he settled, by Degrees, into a consistent, evangelical Protestant. After his Appointment to the See of *London*, his Exaltation only served to render him more humble, affable, and useful. Nothing could exceed the Tenderness and Respect, with which he treated Mrs *Bonner*, Mother to his Predecessor, the superseded Bishop of *London*. “ Bishop *Ridley*, being at his Manor of *Fulham*, always sent for this Mrs *Bonner* (who lived in an House adjoining,) to Dinner and Supper; with one Mrs *Munsey*, Bishop *Bonner’s* Sister: saying, *Go for my Mother Bonner*. He always placed her at the Head of

T 2

“ his

(i) Ibid. 440.

(k) *Biogr. Dict.* Vol. 12. p. 304.

(l) *Bertram*, or *Ratramnus*, was contemporary with *Gottschalk*.

“ his Table, even though any of the King’s Council
 “ were present (m).”

“ His Mode of Life was, as soon as he had risen and
 “ dressed, to continue in private Prayer for Half an Hour.
 “ He then retired to his Study, till Ten : at which Time,
 “ he went, with his Family, to Common Prayer ; and,
 “ every Day, read a Lecture to them. After Prayers,
 “ he adjourned to Dinner : where his Conversation was,
 “ always, wise and discrete ; sometimes, merry and chear-
 “ ful. This Conversation he would indulge for an Hour
 “ after Dinner ; or else, in playing at Chess. The Hour
 “ for unbending being expired, he returned to his Study,
 “ where he continued till Five ; except Suitors, or Busi-
 “ ness abroad, otherwise required. Then he went to
 “ Common Prayers in the Evening ; and, after Supper,
 “ having diverted himself another Hour as before, he re-
 “ turned to his Study, where he continued till Eleven at
 “ Night. From thence, going apart to private Prayer,
 “ he retired to Bed : where he, and his Household (made
 “ virtuous by his Example and Instruction,) enjoyed the
 “ sweet Repose of a Day well spent. — A little before
 “ King *Edward* died, he was nominated to the Bishop-
 “ ric of *Durham*. But, great as the Honors were, which
 “ he received, and were intended him ; the highest were
 “ reserved for him under Queen *Mary* : which were, to
 “ be a Prisoner for the Gospel, a Confessor of Christ in
 “ Bonds, and a Martyr for His Truth (n).”

He was esteemed the most Learned of all the English
 Reformers : and was inferior to none of them in Piety,
 Sanctity, and Clearness of evangelical Light (o). His
 doctrinal

(m) See *Fox*, III. 360.

(n) *Biogr. Dict.* Vol. 12. p. 306.

(o) “ He was a Person small in Stature, but great in Learning ;
 “ and profoundly read in Divinity. His fine Parts, and his great
 “ Improvements in all the Branches of Literature necessary to a
 “ Divine,

doctrinal System was, as I have already shewn, formed entirely on the Plan of Scripture : to which sacred Volume his Love and Attachment were inexpressible. “ In a Walk “ in the Orchard at *Pembroke Hall* [*Cambridge*,] which is “ to this Day called *Ridley’s Walk*, he got by Heart almost all the Epistles in Greek (*p*).” To this Circumstance, himself alludes, in the following Passage, written a little before his Martyrdom : “ Farewell, *Pembroke Hall*, “ of late my own College, my Cure and my Charge. “ What Case thou art in now, God knoweth : I know “ not well. Thou wast ever named, since I knew thee, “ which is not Thirty Years ago, to be studious, well “ learned, and a great setter forth of Christ’s Gospel, and “ of God’s true Word. So I found thee, and, blessed be “ God, so I left thee indeed. Woe is me for thee, my “ own dear College, if ever thou suffer thyself by any “ Means to be brought from that Trade. In thy Orchard (the Walls, Butts, and Trees, if they could speak, “ would bear me witness,) I learned without Book almost “ all *St Paul’s* Epistles : yea, and, I ween, all the Canonical Epistles, save only the Apocalypse. Of which “ Study, though in Time a great Part did depart from “ me, yet the sweet Scent thereof, I trust, I shall carry “ with me into Heaven. The Profit thereof, I think, I “ have felt in all my Life-time ever after (*q*).”—Were more of our *modern* Divines thus intimately versed in the Book of God ; the Church of England would not be in such Danger, from the Arminianism of some, who call themselves her Sons.

T 3

III. Mr

“ Divine, gave him the first Rank in his Profession ; and his Life “ was answerable to his Knowledge. He had an Hand in compiling the Common-Prayer Book ; and of all, who served at “ the Altar of the Church of *England*, he bore, perhaps, the “ most useful Testimony, both in Life and Death, to her Doctrine.” *Rolt’s Lives of the Reformers*, p. 172.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 305.

(*q*) *Fox*, III. 434.

III. Mr *Hugh Latimer*, sometime Bishop of *Worcester*, was another of our Reformers and Martyrs. Though he did by no means shine as a Scholar, but appears to have been rather deficient in human Learning; he was, nevertheless, conspicuous for his Piety, Zeal, and undisguised Simplicity. His Talents, as a Preacher, were plain, and and not unpopular. His Sermons, more practical than speculative (*r*), were chiefly calculated to expose the reigning Immoralities of that Age, in a Style (though he often preached at Court) altogether suited to the Capacities of the Vulgar and the Unlettered. But the coarse Sounding of *Latimer's* Ram's-Horn was, perhaps, as useful to the common People; as the softer Music of the silver Trumpet, modulated by *Granmer*, *Ridley*, and the other Reformers, was, to the Learned and Polite.

Though we must not always expect to find, in the Discourses of *Latimer*, that Exactness of logical Accuracy, and that Strictness of systematic Harmony, which mark the Performances of more accomplished Divines; still we shall be sure to meet with genuine Signatures of a gracious Heart, and with lively Vestiges of the Knowledge that comes from above. And, notwithstanding the *Arminians* affect to claim this Reformer for their own; the absolute Want of Truth, on which that Claim is founded, will abundantly appear from the many striking and decisive Passages, which I shall shortly lay before the Reader.

Before I produce those Passages themselves, permit me, as usual, to premise a *general* Observation, in Favor of our Martyr's Calvinism.—I mean, The Terms of Respect and Affection,

(*r*) “ His Zeal and Sincerity inspired him with Figures of Speech, to which Learning and Study cannot rise.—His Discourses were directed, rather to the Reformation of Manners, than to the Controversies of Religion.—In short, *Latimer*, with a moderate Share of Learning and Abilities, was a much greater Man, a much better Christian, and a much worthier Bishop, than many of his Order, who have shone with a more conspicuous Figure.” *Roll*, p. 174.

Affection, in which he mentions the Names of *Austin*, *Luther*, and *Peter Martyr*: who were, all, strenuous Champions for absolute Predestination. St *Austin*, whom Mr Sellon ignorantly and abusively styles “*The great and giddy Apostle of the Calvinists* ;” this same St *Austin* is called, by *Latimer*, “A good Christian, and a Defender of Christ’s Religion and of the Faith (s).”—Mr Sellon terms *Luther* “A WEATHER COCK:” but *Latimer* terms him, “That wonderful Instrument of God, through whom God hath opened the Light of his holy Word unto the World (t).”—Nor does *Latimer* speak less respectfully of *Peter Martyr*: “There are yet among us,” said he, in a Sermon preached before King *Edward*, “two great learned Men, *Peter Martyr*, and *Bernard Ochinus*, which have an hundred Marks apiece: I would the King would bestow a thousand Pounds on that Sort (u).”

The Hand likewise, which *Latimer* had, in drawing up the first Part of our *Book of HOMILIES*, must be considered as a loud and standing Evidence of his Calvinism. He had resigned his Bishopric (which he never afterwards resumed), about seven Years before the Death of *Henry VIII*, on the Passing of the six Articles (w): and, about a Twelvemonth after, was committed Prisoner to the Tower; where he lay, till the Accession of *Edward VI*. On his Release, “He accepted an Invitation from his Friend Archbishop *Cranmer*, and took up his Residence at *Lambeth*: where he assisted the Archbishop in composing the Homilies, which were set forth by Authority in the first Year of King *Edward* (x).” These Homilies are still a Part of our ecclesiastical Establishment.

T 4

Let

(s) *Latimer’s Sermons*, vol. 1. p. 185.—Edit. 1758. *Octavo*.

(t) *Ibid.* vol. 2. p. 669.

(u) *Ibid.* vol. 1. p. 117.

(w) *Parliamentary History*, vol. 3. p. 156.

(x) *Biogr. Dict.* vol. 7. p. 393.

Let any Man but read them ; and then doubt if he can, whether the Composers were not *Calvinists* : i. e. *Anti-Pelagians* ; for, at *that* Time, and long after, the very Name of *Arminians* was utterly unknown.

Now for some *particular* Proofs of *Latimer's* Orthodoxy. In producing these, I shall begin,

(1.) With what he advances concerning *Election*, or *Predestination* unto Life. “Curfed be he that doth the
“Work of God negligently, or guilefully. A fore
“Word for them,” [i. e. for those *Minifters*] “that
“are negligent in difcharging their Office, or have done
“it fraudulently : for that is the Thing that maketh the
“People ill. But true it MUST be, that Chrift faith ;
“*Many are called, but FEW are CHOSEN* (y).”

(“Some will fay now, *Why heed we Preachers then ?*
“*God can fave his Ele& without Preachers ?* A goodly
“Reason ! God can fave my Life, without Meat and
“Drink : need I none therefore ? God can fave me from
“burning, if I were in the Fire : fhall I run into it
“therefore ? No, No. I muft keep the Way that God
“hath ordained, and ufe that ordinary Means that God
“hath affigned (z).”—According, therefore, to *Latimer*,
(and, indeed, according to Scripture and right Reason),
the Decree of *Predestination* does not render the Ufe of
ordinary *Means* unneceffary. On the Contrary, the De-
cree is that very Root, from whence the Means originally
derive their *Efficacy*.

Every Calvinift maintains, that *good Works* are the *Con-
fequence*, and the *Evidence*, of *Election* : and, of thofe good
Works, *Reftitution*, to fuch Perfons as we may have
wronged, is certainly One —Bifhop *Latimer* was exactly
of our Mind. “Some Examples have been, of open
“Reftitution : and glad may he be, that God was fo
“friendly unto him, as to bring him unto it in this
“World. I am not afraid to name him : it was Mafter

SHERINGTON ;

(y) *Latimer's* Sermons, vol. 1. p. 44.

(z) *Ibid.* p. 261.

“ SHERINGTON; an honest Gentleman, and one that
 “ God loveth. He openly confessed, that he had de-
 “ ceived the King: and he made open Restitution. O,
 “ what an Argument may he have against the Devil,
 “ when he shall move him to Desperation! God brought
 “ this out, to his Amendment. It is a TOKEN, that he
 “ is a CHOSEN MAN of God, and ONE OF HIS ELECT-
 “ ED (a).”

The Passage immediately following, though it may tend to prove the Vanity of making any Calculation respecting those *Times and Seasons which the Father hath put in his own Power*; demonstrates, however, the undoubted Firmness, with which Latimer held the Doctrine of *Election*. “ The
 “ World was ordained to endure, as all learned Men af-
 “ firm, and prove it with Scripture, Six Thousand Years.
 “ Now, of that Number, there be passed 5552: so that
 “ there is no more left, but 448. And, furthermore,
 “ those Days shall be shortened. It shall not be full 6000
 “ Years. *The Days shall be shortened for the ELECTS’*
 “ *Sake (b).*”

“ St Paul, that ELECT Instrument of God, shewed
 “ a Reason wherefore God layeth Afflictions upon us (c).
 “ —We cannot come to that unspeakable Felicity, which
 “ God hath PREPARED for His, except we be clean in
 “ our Hearts (d).”

The Hypocrisy of too many religious Professors, and the frequent Deceitfulness of Appearances, occasioned Latimer to make the following Remark: “ There is no great Dif-
 “ ference, here in this World, between the ELECT and
 “ the REPROBATE. For the very unfaithful give
 “ Alms, &c. So that, I say, we cannot tell, as long as
 “ we be here in this World, which be ELECT, and
 “ which NOT. But at the last Day, then it shall appear
 “ who is he that SHALL be saved; and, again, who
 SHALL

(a) *Ibid.* p. 294.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 365.

(c) *Ibid.* vol. 2. p. 484.

(d) *Ibid.* p. 509.

“SHALL be damned (*e*).”—There were some, however, of whose Election the good Bishop could have no doubt: witness what he said, above, concerning “Master *Sherrington*.”

He justly observes, That the Certainty of our Election is to be inferred from the Truth of our Conversion. No Calvinist says (nor, indeed, will the Nature of the Case permit any reasonable Man to argue so perversely and absurdly), *I am elected, and therefore I shall be saved, whether I am converted or not*. On the Contrary, this is our Language: *God would not have converted me, if He had not elected me*. We are for beginning at the Bottom of the Ladder, and for taking the Chain by the right End. Hence (as Bishop *Bancroft* very properly observed at the Hampton-Court Conference), we argue, not *descendendo*, but *ascendendo*: i. e. we rise to the Fountain, by following the Stream; or arrive at the Knowledge of our own particular Election, by the solid Marks of Sanctification. We judge of God’s objective Purposes concerning us, by that subjective Work of Grace which he hath wrought within us. As Election is the radical Cause of Regeneration; so Regeneration, and its Fruits, are the Clue, by which we are guided to the Sight and Sense of Election.—This was the precise View, in which *Latimer* considered the Point: whence he says, and we say with him, “We need not go about to trouble ourselves with curious Questions of the Predestination of God: But let us rather endeavour ourselves that we may be in Christ. For, when we be in Him, then are we well: and then we may be SURE that we are ORDAINED TO EVERLASTING LIFE (*f*).”—Again, “When you find these three Things in your Hearts,” [viz. Repentance, Faith, and a Desire to leave Sin], “then you may be SURE your Names are written in the Book: and you may be sure also, that
“ you

(*e*) *Ibid.* p. 674.

(*f*) *Ibid.* p. 846.

“ you are ELECTED and PREDESTINATED to everlasting Life (g).”

Elsewhere, he comes more expressly to the Point :
 “ If thou art desirous to know, whether thou art CHOSEN
 “ to everlasting Life, thou mayst not *begin* with God ; for
 “ God is too high : thou canst not comprehend Him.—
 “ — — Begin with Christ, and learn to know Christ,
 “ and wherefore he came ; namely, that he came to save
 “ Sinners, and made Himself subject to the Law, and a
 “ Fulfiller of the Law, to deliver us from the Wrath and
 “ Danger thereof. — — — If thou knowest *Christ*,
 “ THEN thou mayst know *further* of thy ELEC-
 “ TION (h).”

Speaking of *Joseph* and his Afflictions, he adds, “ Here
 “ you see how God doth exercise THOSE which APPER-
 “ TAIN to everlasting Life (i).”—Treating of the last
 Day, he still keeps God’s Election in view : “ The
 “ Trumpet shall blow, and the Angels shall come and
 “ gather all those that offend, from among THE ELECT
 “ of God. All the ELECT shall be gathered unto Him,
 “ and there they shall see the Judgment ; but they them-
 “ selves shall not be judged, but shall be like as Judges
 “ with

(g) *Ibid.* p. 848.

(h) *Ib.* p. 886, 887. so again, p. 889. “ Here is now taught
 “ you, how to try out your *Election* ; namely, in Christ : for Christ
 “ is the Accounting-Book and Register of God : even in the same
 “ Book, that is, Christ, are written all the Names of the *Elect*.
 “ Therefore we cannot [viz. at First] find our Election in our-
 “ selves, neither yet in the high Counsel of God. ‘ *Where then*
 “ *shall I find my Election?*’ In the Counting-Book of God,
 “ which is Christ.”

The Sum of *Latimer’s* Reasoning, is this: *If I BELIEVE in*
Christ alone for Salvation, I am certainly INTERESTED in Christ ;
and interested in Christ I could not be, if I was not CHOSEN and
electd of God. Which is ascending to Election, by the right
 Gradations.

(i) *Ibid.* p. 858.

“ with Him. After that the ELECT are separated from
 “ the Wicked, He shall give a most horrible and dread-
 “ ful Sentence unto the Wicked (*k*). — Then shall the
 “ ELECT shine as the Sun, in the Kingdom of God (*l*).”
 — Thus, says this worthy Martyr, will Christ come,
 “ In great Honor and Glory, and will make all his Faith-
 “ ful like unto Him, and will say, unto THEM THAT BE
 “ CHOSEN TO EVERLASTING LIFE, *Come, ye Blessed*
 “ *of my Father, possess that Kingdom which is PREPARED*
 “ *for you FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD (m).*”
 — We shall find this valuable Man no less clear and
 Scriptural,

(2.) In his Sentiments concerning *Providence*. “ Re-
 “ member the *Hair*, how it falls not without God’s Pro-
 “ vidence. Remember the *Sparrows*, how they build in
 “ every House, and God provideth for them. And are
 “ you not much more precious to me, saith Christ, than
 “ Sparrows, or other Birds? God will defend you, that,
 “ BEFORE YOUR TIME COMETH, YE SHALL NOT DIE,
 “ NOR MISCARRY.—God hath APPOINTED his Times,
 “ as PLEASETH Him: and, before the Time cometh
 “ that God hath APPOINTED, they shall have no Power
 “ against you. — Till thy Time COME, thou shalt NOT
 “ die (*n*).”

According to *Latimer*, God’s WILL is distinguishable
 into SECRET and REVELED. His *secret* Will, is His
 Will of *Decree*, known only to Himself: His *reveled*
 Will, is His Will of Command, discovered and made
 known in His written Word. His *secret*, or *decreeing*
 Will, is the Rule of *His own Conduct*: His *reveled* or
præceptive Will, ought to be the Rule of *our Conduct*.
 Christ, says *Latimer*, “ Teacheth us to pray, *Thy King-*
dom come — — — Thy Will be done. Here we must
 “ understand, that the WILL of God is to be considered
 “ after

(*k*) *Ibid.* p. 867.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 872.

(*m*) *Ibid.* p. 682.

(*n*) *Ibid.* p. 295, 296, 297.

“ after two Sorts. First, as it is *omnipotent, unsearchable,*
 “ and that cannot be known to us. Now, we do not
 “ pray that His Will, so considered, may be done: for,
 “ His Will, SO considered, is, and EVER SHALL be
 “ FULFILLED, though we would say nay to it. For
 “ NOTHING either in Heaven or Earth, is ABLE TO
 “ WITHSTAND HIS WILL. Wherefore it were but
 “ Folly for us to pray to have IT fulfilled, otherwise
 “ than to shew thereby that we give our Consent to His
 “ Will, which is to us unsearchable. — But there is
 “ another Consideration of God’s holy Will; and that
 “ Consideration we, and all faithful Christians, desire
 “ may be done: and, so considered, it is called a *revealed,*
 “ a *manifested, and declared* Will; and it is *opened* unto
 “ us in the Bible, in the New and Old Testament.
 “ There, God hath revealed a certain Will: therefore,
 “ we pray that It may be done, and fulfilled of us (o).”

Latimer has already pronounced God’s *secret*, or “un-
 “ *searchable*” Will, to be “*omnipotent* :” i. e. God’s
 Decrees must and shall be accomplished and brought to
 pass by his Providence. No Wonder, then, that our Re-
 former, in exact Harmony with that grand Maxim, should
 assert as follows: “ He [i. e. God] filleth the Earth ;
 “ that is to say, He RULETH and GOVERNETH the
 “ Same: ordering ALL Things according to HIS WILL
 “ and PLEASURE (p).” From whence it is very natu-
 rally inferred, that “ We ought to be at His Pleasure :
 “ WHENSOEVER and WHATSOEVER He will do with us,
 “ we ought to be CONTENT with ALL (q).” That is,
 in modern Language, *We ought to believe, Whatever is, is*
RIGHT : seeing “ All Things ” are “ *ordered* according
 “ to God’s *Will and Pleasure*. ” — Does not Latimer speak
 the very Quintessence of Calvinism ?

One would imagine, that, if any of Mankind might
 be supposed to be more exempt, than others, from the
immediate

 (o) *Ibid* p. 369, 370.

 (p) *Ibid*. p. 324.

 (q) *Ibid*. P. 345.

immediate and constant Controul of absolute Providence, *Kings and sovereign Princes* would be the Men. Yet even These, according to honest LATIMER's Theology, are as much tied and bound from above, as the meanest of the human Race. "God saith, *Through ME Kings reign.*" "Yea, they be so under God's Rule, that they can " *THINK Nothing*, nor *DO any Thing*, without God's " *PERMISSION.* For it is written, *The Heart of the King* " *is in the Hands of the Lord, and he turneth the Same whi-* " *thersoever it pleaseth Him.* — — — All those great Ru- " lers, that have been from the Beginning of the World " till now, have been SET UP by the APPOINTMENT of " God; and He PULLED them DOWN, when it PLEASSED " Him (r)."

Wealth and Poverty are distributed by the Hand of Providence. "It is written, *The Blessing of God maketh rich.*" "Except God blefs it, it [i. e. human Labor] standeth " to no Effect: for it is written, *They shall eat, but yet* " *never be satisfied.* Eat as much as you will, except " God feed you, you shall never be full. So likewise, " as rich as a Man is, yet he cannot AUGMENT his " Riches, or KEEP that he hath, except God be with " him, except He blefs him. Therefore let us not be " proud: for we be but Beggars the best of us (s)."

To the same Effect he speaks elsewhere: "We must " labor; for so we are commanded to do: but we must " look for the Increase at God's Hands. For, though a " Man labor much, yet, for all that, he shall have no " more than God hath APPOINTED him to have: for even " as it pleaseth God, so he shall have. For the Earth is " the Lord's, and all is therein (t)."

I have already shewn, that *Latimer* believed that the Duration of every Man's Life is fixed and predestinated by God. The good Bishop inculcates the same great Truth, again and again. "Every Man hath a certain Time ap-

" *pointed*

(r) *Ibid.* p. 354.

(s) *Ibid.* p. 407.

(t) *Ibid.* p. 654.

“pointed him of God; and God hideth the same from us;
 “for some die in young Age, some in old Age, ACCORD-
 “ING AS IT PLEASETH HIM (u).” — Once more:
 “Of that we may be SURE, there shall not fall ONE
 “HAIR from our Head, without His WILL: And we
 “shall not die, before THE Time that God hath AP-
 “POINTED unto us. Which is a COMFORTABLE Thing:
 “especially, in Time of *Sickness*, or *Wars* (w).”

Latimer very justly maintained, that *Afflictions* also are
 an Effect of God’s *Predestination* and *Providence*: from
 whence he drew this practical Conclusion: “Let us learn
 “not to be peevish, when God layeth His Cross upon
 “us. Let us not despair, but call upon Him. Let us
 “think we be ORDAINED unto it (x).” — Again, “See-
 “ing that there is NOTHING done without HIS WILL;
 “I ought to bear this Cross which he layeth upon me,
 “without murmuring or grudging (y).”

Notwithstanding *Latimer* was thus so strenuous an
 Assertor of God’s Decrees and Providence; we yet find
 him making use of the Word CHANCE. But he evident-
 ly means, by that Term, the Occurrence of *some Event*,
 UNEXPECTED and UNFORESEEN by us ourselves. For,
 he takes Care to let us know, that, by this Word, he still
 intends no other than a *Providential Dispensation*. “Now,”
 says he, “When I come to Poverty BY CHANCE, so
 “that GOD SENDETH Poverty unto me; then I am
 “blessed, when I take Poverty well, and without grudg-
 “ing (z).”

Every Christian will allow, that the putting of Christ
 to Death was, in itself, infinitely the *greatest Crime* ever
 perpetrated by Man. And yet, so absolute a Predesti-
 narian was *Latimer*, that he represents this *greatest of*
Crimes as exactly corresponding to the *Predestination* and
Providence

(u) *Ibid.* p. 429.

(w) *Ibid.* p. 430.

(x) *Ibid.* p. 456.

(y) *Ibid.* p. 484.

(z) *Ibid.* p. 501.

Providence of God concerning it: Nay, he even supposes, that *Satan* would have *hindered* the Messiah's Crucifixion; but was not *able* to hinder it, because "God's *Counsel* and "*Purpose*" were, that the Messiah SHOULD be crucified. Let us attend to Latimer's own Words. "After that, when "Christ was born into the World, he [i. e. *Satan*] did "what he could to rid Him [viz. Christ] out of the Way: "therefore he stirred up all the Jews against Him. But, "after he perceived that His Death [i. e. the Death of "Christ] should be our Deliverance from everlasting "Death; he [*Satan*] did what he could to HINDER His "Death: and therefore he stirred up Mistress *Pilate*, who "took a Nap in the Morning, as such fine Dames are "wont to do, that she should NOT suffer her Husband to "give Sentence against Christ. For, as I told you, "when he [*Satan*] perceived that it was to be his "[*Satan's*] Destruction, he would HINDER it, and did "what he COULD, with Hand and Foot, to STOP it. "But yet he was NOT ABLE to DIS-ANNUL the COUN- "SEL and PURPOSE of GOD (a)." — Far be it from me to vindicate the Whole of this remarkable Paragraph. On the contrary, I think it very exceptionable, in more Respects than one. But it certainly proves, that *Latimer* carried his Idea of Predestination to the highest Pitch it is possible for Man to do.

'Tis now Time, that I should produce his Judgment,

(3.) Concerning *Original Sin*, or *Man's TOTAL Fall* from God: on which important Article, no less than on the preceding ones, the Doctrine of this Reformer was essentially different from that embraced by the Sect of *Arminius*. "It was not for nought," says *Latimer*, that "Jeremiah describeth Man's Heart in its Colors: *The "Heart of Man is naughty, and crooked, and a froward "Piece of Work* (b)." — But, how came the Human Heart to be thus spiritually and morally depraved? *Latimer*
traces

traces it all, to the Sin of our first Parent. “ Our Fore-
 “ father *Adam* wilfully eat of the Apple forbidden.
 “ Wherefore he was cast out of the everlasting Joy in
 “ Paradise, into this corrupt World, amongst all Vile-
 “ nefs : whereby of himself he was not worthy to do any
 “ Thing laudable and pleasant to God ; evermore bound
 “ to corrupt Affections, and beastly Appetites ; transform-
 “ ed into the uncleanest and variablest Nature that was
 “ made under Heaven : of whose Seed and Disposition,
 “ all the World is lineally descended. Inſomuch that
 “ this evil Nature is ſo diffuſed, and ſhed from one into
 “ another, that at this Day there is no Man or Woman
 “ living, that can of themſelves waſh away their abomi-
 “ nable Vilenefs : and ſo we muſt needs grant of our-
 “ ſelves to be in like diſpleaſure unto God, as our Father
 “ *Adam* was. By Reaſon hereof, as I ſaid, we be, of
 “ ourſelves, the very Children of the Indignation and
 “ Vengeance of God ; the true Inheritors of Hell, and
 “ working all towards Hell. Which is the Answer to this
 “ Queſtion, made to every Man and Woman by them-
 “ ſelves, *What art thou (c) ?*” — I will add but one Cita-
 “ tion more : “ This our Nature *David*, the holy King
 “ and Prophet, deſcribeth with few Words, ſaying, *Lo,*
 “ *in Iniquity am I BORN, and in Sin bath my Mother CON-*
 “ *CEIVED me.* He doth ſignify by his Words, what he
 “ had inherited of his Parent *Adam* ; namely, Sin and
 “ Wickedneſs. And he ſpeaketh not of himſelf only,
 “ but of All Mankind. He painteth us out in our own
 “ Colors : ſhewing, that we all are contaminate, from
 “ our Birth, with Sin ; and ſo ſhould juſtly be Fire-
 “ brands in Hell, World without End. This the Holy
 “ Prophet ſhewed in theſe Words, to *put us in Remem-*
 “ *brance of our own WRETCHEDNESS : To teach us to*
 “ *DESPAIR of OUR OWN Holineſs and RIGHTEOUSNESS,*
 “ and to ſeek our Help and Comfort by that Meſſias
 U “ whom

“ whom God hath promised to our Fore-fathers.—Another Scripture signifieth to us, farther, what we be of ourselves, of our own Nature : for it is written, *All Men are Liars*. Therefore, Man is not clean ; but full of Falsehood, and Deceit, and all Manner of Sin and Wickedness ; poisoned and corrupt with all Manner of Uncleannesse.—What found He [i. e. God], when He made Inquisition ? marry, this : *All Men have declined from God ; there was none that did good, no not one*. Here, we may perceive what we be of ourselves, of our own Nature (d) ”

Such being *Latimer's* View of Original Sin, and its Effects ; no wonder, that,

(4) He utterly denied those Powers, which Arminians ascribe to what they term Man's *Free-Will*.

The unceremonious Prelate even goes so far as to suppose, that the Will of *Satan*, and the Will of MAN, are joint Warriors against the Will of GOD. “ We desire,” says *Latimer*, on those Words, *Thy Will be done* ; “ We desire, that He [viz. our heavenly Father] will fortify and strengthen us, so that we may withstand the DEVIL's Will, and OUR OWN, which fight against God's Will (e).” — But in vain is the Will of God fought against : for, as the Martyr observes in another Place, “ No Man's Power is able to stand against God, or DISSAPPOINT Him of His PURPOSES (f).”

He likewise pays a very rough Compliment to *Free-will*, in the subsequent Passage : “ I am, of myself, and by myself, coming from my natural Father and Mother, the Child of the Ire and Indignation of God, and the true Inheritor of Hell ; A LUMP OF SIN, and working NOTHING of myself, but all towards HELL, except I have better Help of another than I have of myself (g).”

What

(d) *Ibid.* p. 746. 747.

(f) *Ibid.* p. 663.

(e) *Ibid.* p. 372.

(g) *Ibid.* p. 903, 904.

What is the Influence of this Truth, upon the Hearts of those who are born again and converted to God? The Bishop shall tell us. "Here we may see, how much we be bound and indebted to God, who has revived us FROM DEATH to Life, and saved us that were damned" [i. e. who were naturally *condemned* by the Divine Law]: "which great Benefit we cannot well consider, unless we do remember what we were of ourselves, before we meddled with Him and His Laws. And the more we know our FEEBLE Nature, and SET LESS by it, the more we shall conceive and know in our Hearts what God hath done for us: and, the more we know what God hath done for us, THE LESS WE SHALL SET BY OURSELVES, and the more we shall love and please God. So that, in no Condition, we shall either know *Ourselfes* or GOD; except we do UTTERLY confesse ourselves to be MERE VILENESS and CORRUPTION (*b*)."

Whoever has such an Opinion of Human Nature and its Powers, must likewise hold, that Man is, in no Respect, nor in any Degree, the Architect of his own Salvation. Hence,

(5.) *Latimer* believed, that, in the whole Business of Conversion and Sanctification, God's free and efficacious Grace is All in All. — With an Eye to this Point, we find him expressly declaring, that his Ministry was nothing, unless God made it effectual: "Whether it be unfruitful, or no," says he, "I cannot tell. It lieth not in *me*, to make it fruitful. If God work not in your Hearts, my preaching can do but little Good (*i*)."

Speaking of some, who reviled him for preaching the Gospel, he acknowledged that the Grace, by which alone those Persons could be amended, was solely at the sovereign Disposal of God Himself: "As for me, I owe them no ill-will; but I pray God amend them, when it PLEASES

(*b*) *Ibid.* p. 908.

(*i*) *Ibid.* p. 134.

“ETH Him (k).” — Again: “Preachers can do no more but call: God is He that must bring in. God must open the Hearts, as it is in the Acts of the Apostles. When *Paul* preached to the Women, there was a Silk-woman, *Whose Heart God opened*. None could open it, but God. Paul could but only preach: God must work; God must do the Thing inwardly (l).”

On those Words of our Lord, *If ye then, being evil, &c;* he observes, that Christ here “Giveth us our own proper Name: He painteth us out; He pincheth us; He cutteth off our Combs; He plucketh down our Stomachs. And here we learn to acknowledge *ourselves* to be *wicked*, and to know H I M to be the Well-spring and Fountain of ALL Goodness, and that ALL good Things come of HIM (m).” — If this is not “pinching” and “cutting the Comb” of *Free-will*, I know not what is.

In his third Sermon on the Lord's Prayer, he remarks, that, in the Petition of *Hallowed be thy Name*, Christ “would have us to confess our own Imperfections, that we be not able to do ANY Thing according to God's Will, except we receive it FIRST at His Hands. Therefore he teacheth us to pray, that God will MAKE us ABLE to do all Things according to his Will and Pleasure (n). — Farther, by this Petition, we be put in Remembrance what we be, namely, CAPTIVES of the *Devil*, his PRISONERS and BONDMEN; and not able to come at Liberty through *our own Power* (o). — Wherefore, we may say, with St AUSTIN, *Lord, do Thou with me what Thou commandest, and then command what Thou wilt*. For we, of our own Strength and Power, are not able to do his Commandments (p).” *Latimer*, in another Place, quotes St *Austin's* Words more exactly :

(k) Ibid. p. 135.

(m) Ibid. p. 329.

(o) Ibid. p. 357.

(l) Ibid. p. 234.

(n) Ibid. p. 353.

(p) Ibid. p. 378.

exactly: "Like as St *Augustine* saith, Lord, GIVE that
 "Thou commandest, and then command what thou wilt: as
 "who would say, If thou wilt command only, and not
 "give; then we shall be lost, we shall perish (q)." Which, by the Way, is another Proof of *Latimer's* Agreement with *Austin* on the Article of Grace.—One or two Testimonies more shall conclude this Head.

"Except a Man be born again FROM ABOVE, he cannot
 "see the Kingdom of God. He must have a REGENERA-
 "TION. And what is this Regeneration? It is not to
 "be christned in Water, as these Firebrands [i. e. the
 "Papists] would have it. How is it to be expounded
 "then? St Peter sheweth, that one Place of Scripture
 "declareth another. St Peter saith, *And we be born again*.
 "How? *Not by mortal Seed, but by Immortal*. What is
 "this immortal Seed? *By the Word of the living God*:
 "by the Word of God, preached and opened. Thus
 "cometh in our New Birth (r).—This is a great Com-
 "mendation of this Office of Preaching. It is God's
 "Instrument, whereby HE worketh Faith in our
 "Hearts (s)."

As *Latimer* thus believed that Men are regenerated, not by themselves, nor by the mere Water of Baptism, nor simply by the Word preached, but by the Power of God Himself "working Faith in their Hearts;" of which supernatural Power, the Word preached is no more than the usual Instrument and Channel: so he taught, that, after the Work of Regeneration has passed upon the Soul, Man's own Ability can no more *preserve* him in a State of Grace, than it could at first bring him into it. "St Paul
 "saith, *Be strong in the Lord*. We must be strong by a
 "BORROWED Strength: for we, of ourselves, are too
 "weak and feeble. Therefore, let us learn, WHERE we

(q) Ibid. p. 453.—*Domine, da quod jubes, & jube quod vis.*

(r) Ibid. p. 185.

(s) Ibid. p. 489.

“ shall fetch our Strength from; namely, FROM ABOVE.

“ For we have it not of our own selves (*t*).”

“ This is a good Doctrine, which admonisheth us to
 “ give ALL Praise unto God : and not to ascribe it to our
 “ own selves (*u*).——It shall be necessary unto all Men
 “ and Women of this World, NOT to ascribe unto them-
 “ selves ANY Goodness of themselves; but ALL unto
 “ our LORD GOD (*w*).” — Surely, if *Latimer* was a
 Free-willer, there is no meaning in Words !

(6.) Let us consult him, next, on the important Doctrine of *Justification*. According to this good old Churchman, Justification in the Sight of God is *absolutely free*, and entirely *unmerited* by Man ; and accrues to us, *ONLY* by an Interest in the active Obedience, or personal *Righteousness*, of Jesus Christ.

[1.] For the *absolute Freeness* of Justification. — “ We
 “ must believe, that our Savior Christ hath taken us again
 “ into His Favor, that he hath delivered us by His own
 “ Body and Blood, and by the Merit of His own Passion,
 “ of his own mere *Liberality* (*x*).”

“ Do I now, in forgiving my Neighbour his Sins
 “ which he hath done against me, Do I, I say, deserve or
 “ merit, at God’s Hand, Forgiveness of my own Sins ?
 “ No, no : God forbid. For, if this should be so, then
 “ farewell Christ. It taketh Him clean away. It di-
 “ minisheth His Honor, and it is very TREASON wrought
 “ against Christ. — — — Remission of Sins, wherein
 “ consisteth everlasting Life, is such a Treasure that
 “ passeth all Mens Doings. It must not be our Merits
 “ that shall serve, but HIS. He is our Comfort ; He is
 “ the Majesty of God ; and His Blood-shedding it is,
 “ that cleanseth us from our Sins. Therefore, whosoever
 “ is minded contrary unto this, he ROBBETH CHRIST
 “ OF HIS MAJESTY, and so casteth himself into ever-
 “ lasting

(*t*) Ibid. p. 517.

(*u*) Ibid. p. 369.

(*w*) Ibid. p. 903.

(*x*) Ibid. p. 233.

“lasting Danger. — — — As touching our Salvation,
 “we must not go to WORK, to think to GET everlasting
 “Life by our own Doings. No. This were to DENY
 “Christ’s Salvation, and Remission of Sins, and His own
 “and free Gift (y). — Thou must beware, as I said
 “before, that thou think not to GO TO HEAVEN BY
 “such remitting of thy Neighbour’s ill doings. But, by
 “such Forgiving, or not Forgiving, thou shalt KNOW
 “whether thou have Faith or no (z).”

“There be many Folk, which, when they be sick,
 “say, *O, that I might live but one Year longer, to make*
 “AMENDS *for my Sins!* Which saying is very NAUGHT
 “and UNGODLY: for we are NOT able to make Amendes
 “for our Sins. Only Christ, He is the Lamb of God
 “which taketh away our Sins. As for Satisfaction, we
 “cannot do the least Piece of it (a).”

“Reward! This Word soundeth as though we should
 “merit somewhat by our own Works. — — — But we
 “shall not think so: for ye must understand, that all our
 “Works are *imperfect*; we cannot do them so perfectly
 “as THE LAW requireth, because of our Flesh which
 “ever letteth us. *Wherefore is the Kingdom of God called,*
 “*then, A REWARD?* Because it is MERITED BY
 “CHRIST. For, as touching our Salvation and eternal
 “Life, it must be MERITED: but NOT by OUR OWN
 “WORKS, but only by the Merits of our Saviour
 “Christ (b).”

“All the *Papists* in England, and especially the spiri-
 “tual Men [i. e. their *Priests*], be the Enemies of the
 “Cross of Christ, two Manner of Ways. First, when
 “he is a right Papist, given unto Monckery, I warrant
 “you he is in this Opinion, That with his OWN WORKS
 “he doth MERIT Remission of his Sins, and satisfieth the
 “Law through and by his own Works; and so thinks

U 4

himself

(y) Ibid. p. 435.

(z) Ibid. p. 437.

(a) Ibid. p. 438.

(b) Ibid. p. 513.

“himself to be saved everlastingly. THIS IS THE OP-
 “NION OF ALL PAPISTS: and this Doctrine was taught,
 “many Times past [i. e. in the *Papish* Times], in Schools
 “and in the Pulpits. Now, ALL THOSE, that be in
 “such an Opinion, are the ENEMIES of the Crofs of
 “Christ, of His Passion and Blood-shedding. For they
 “think in themselves” [i. e. such an Opinion is tanta-
 “mount to thinking, that] “Christ needeth [needed]
 “not to die: and so they despise His bitter Passion.
 “They do not consider our *Birth-Sin*, and the *Corrup-*
 “*tion of our Nature*: Nor yet do they know the Quantity
 “of our *Actual Sins*, how many Times we fall into Sin;
 “or how much our own Power is diminished, or what
 “Might and Power the Devil hath. They consider not
 “these Things: but think themselves able with their own
 “Works to enter into the Kingdom of God. And,
 “therefore, I tell you, this is THE MOST PERILOUS
 “DOCTRINE THAT CAN BE DEVISED (c).—We must
 “do good Works; we must endeavor ourselves to live
 “according to the Commandments of God: yet, for all
 “that, we must not TRUST in our Doings. For, though
 “we do to the uttermost, yet it is all imperfect, when
 “ye examine them by the Rigor of the Law: which
 “LAW serveth [not to *justify* us, but] to BRING
 “US TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF OUR SINS, and so to
 “Christ; and, by Christ, we shall come to the Quiet-
 “ness of our Conscience. — — — Therefore, it is not
 “more necessary to do good Works, than it is to BE-
 “WARE how to esteem them. Therefore take Heed,
 “good Christian People: DENY NOT CHRIST; PUT
 “NOT YOUR HOPE IN YOUR OWN DOINGS: for if ye
 “do, ye shall repent (d).”

“He will reward our good Works IN everlasting Life,
 “but not WITH everlasting Life: for our Works are not
 “so

(c) Ibid. p. 555.

(d) Ibid. p. 557.

“ so much worth, nor ought to be esteemed so, as to get
 “ us Heaven. For it is written, *The Kingdom of Heaven*
 “ *is the GIFT of God.* So likewise St Paul saith, *Ye are*
 “ *saved freely, without Works.* Therefore, when ye ask,
 “ *Are ye saved?* Say, *Yes.* How? marry, GRATIS;
 “ *freely.* And here is all our Comfort to stay our Con-
 “ sciences (e).”

“ We read, in a Book, which is entitled, ‘ *The Lives*
 “ ‘ *of the Fathers,*’ that there was once a great, holy
 “ Man (as he seemed to all the World), worthy to be
 “ taken up into Heaven. Now, that Man had many
 “ Disciples, and, on a Time, he fell into a great Agony
 “ of Conscience; infomuch that he could not tell in
 “ the World what to do. Now, his Disciples standing
 “ about him, seeing him in this Case, they said unto
 “ him, *How chanceth it that ye are so troubled, Father?*
 “ *for, certainly, there is no body so good a Liver, or more*
 “ *holy than you have been: therefore you need not fear; for,*
 “ *no Doubt, you shall come to Heaven.* The old Father
 “ made them Answer again, saying, *Though I have lived*
 “ *uprightly, yet, for all that, it will not help me. I lack*
 “ *something yet.* And so he did indeed. For, CERTAIN-
 “ LY, if he had followed the Counsel of his Disciples,
 “ and put his Trust in godly Conversation, NO DOUBT
 “ HE SHOULD HAVE GONE TO THE DEVIL (f).”

Bishop Latimer was immovably radicated in that great
 Scriptural and Protestant Axiom, that *Good Works do not*
go before Justification, but Justification goes before good
Works. Hence his following excellent Remark: “ I pray
 “ you note this: we must first be MADE good, before
 “ we can do good. We must FIRST be MADE JUST
 “ before our WORKS please God. For, when we ARE
 “ JUSTIFIED by Faith in Christ, and ARE made good
 “ by Him; THEN cometh our DUTY, that is, to DO
 “ GOOD WORKS, to make a DECLARATION of our
 “ THANK-

(e) Ibid. p. 79^c, 797.

(f) Ibid. p. 700.

“**THANKFULNESS** (g).” — Now, if good Works *cannot* possibly *exist*, prior to Justification; it invincibly follows, that Justification cannot possibly be caused or conditioned by good Works. On the Contrary, Justification is itself the Cause of good Works, instead of good Works being the Cause of Justification.

Though Christ will, in the last Day, condescend to make *Mention* of the good Works which He enabled His People to perform; and will *appeal* to those Works, as *Evidences* of His People’s belonging to Him; yet the Works, so appealed to, will not be the Ground even of that *public* and *declarative* Justification, which will be predicated of the Elect at that awful Season. So at least good *Latimer* thought: witness his own Testimony. “If we shall be **JUDGED** after our own Deservings, we shall be damned everlastingly. Therefore learn here, every good Christian, to **ABHOR** this most **DETESTABLE** and **DANGEROUS POISON** of the **PAPISTS**, who go about to thrust Christ out of his Seat. Learn here, I say, to leave all Papistry, and to stick only to the Word of God; which teacheth thee, that Christ is not a Judge, but a Justifier, a Giver of Salvation, a Taker-away of Sin. For **H E** purchased our Salvation, through his painful Death; and we receive the same through **BELIEVING** in Him: as St Paul teacheth, saying, *Freely ye are justified, through Faith*. In these Words of St Paul, **ALL MERITS** and **ESTIMATION** of **WORKS** are **CLEAN TAKEN AWAY**. For, if it were for *our Works’ Sake*, then were it *not freely*. But St Paul saith, **FREELY**. Whether will you now believe St Paul, or the *Papists* (b) ?”

Nor does this inestimable Truth lead, in the least, to Licentiousness. Let the Apostolic Reformer obviate the unreasonable Surmise. “But you will say, *Seeing we can*

“GET

“ GET *nothing with good Works, we will do nothing at all ;*
 “ *or else do such Works as shall best please us : seeing we shall*
 “ *have no Rewards for our well-doings.* I answer, We are
 “ *commanded, by God’s Word, to apply ourselves to*
 “ *Goodness, every one in his Calling : but we must not*
 “ *do it, to the End to DESERVE Heaven thereby.* We
 “ *must do Good Works, to shew ourselves THANKFUL*
 “ *for all His Benefits, which He hath poured upon us ;*
 “ *and in respect of God’s COMMANDMENT : considering,*
 “ *that God willeth us to do well, NOT TO MAKE A*
 “ *MERIT OF IT ; for this were a Denying of Christ, to*
 “ *to say, I will live well and deserve Heaven.* This is a
 “ *DAMNABLE Opinion.* Let us rather think thus : *I will*
 “ *live well, to shew myself THANKFUL towards my loving*
 “ *God, and Christ my Redeemer (i).”—What a double-dyed*
Antinomian must such a Writer as Bishop *Latimer* appear,
 in the Eyes of such jaundiced Theologs, as *John Wef-*
ley and *Walter Sellon* ! Especially, when they consider,

[2.] That, according to the Bishop’s Scheme of Di-
 vinity, the *Righteousness* or *Personal Obedience* of Jesus
 Christ, is the sole meritorious Cause of this free Jus-
 tification.

“ Our Sins lett us [i. e. they hinder us], and withdraw
 “ us from Prayer. But our Savior maketh them NOTHING.
 “ When we believe in Him, it is like AS IF we had NO
 “ Sins. FOR He CHANGETH with us : He TAKETH
 “ our Sins and Wickedness from us, and GIVETH US
 “ HIS HOLINESS, RIGHTEOUSNESS, JUSTICE, FUL-
 “ FILLING OF THE LAW ; and so, consequently, ever-
 “ lasting Life. So that we be like as if we had done no
 “ Sin at all. For HIS RIGHTEOUSNESS standeth us in
 “ so good Stead, AS THOUGH WE of ourselves HAD
 “ FULFILLED THE LAW TO THE UTTERMOST (k).”

“ All faithful and true Christians believe only in His
 “ Death. They long to be saved, through His Passion
 “ and

(i) Ibid. p. 814.

(k) Ibid. p. 321.

“ and Blood-shedding. This is all their Comfort. They
 “ must know, and stedfastly believe, that Christ FUL-
 “ FILLED THE LAW; and that HIS FULFILLING IS
 “ THEIRS. So that they attribute unto Christ the
 “ getting and meriting of everlasting Life. And so it fol-
 “ loweth, that They, who attribute the Remission of Sins,
 “ the getting of everlasting Life, unto *themselves*, or their
 “ *Works*; that they DENY Christ, they BLASPHEME and
 “ DESPISE Him (*l*).”

“ He Himself had no Sin at all. He suffered, to de-
 “ liver Us from everlasting Damnation. He took OUR
 “ Sins, and gave us His Righteousness (*m*).—Our Sa-
 “ vior is clearly opened unto us. He hath SUFFERED
 “ for us already, and FULFILLED THE LAW to the ut-
 “ most: and so, BY HIS FULFILLING, taken away
 “ the Curse of the Law (*n*). — By His Passion, which
 “ he hath suffered, He merited, that as many, as believe
 “ in Him, shall be AS WELL JUSTIFIED by Him, AS
 “ THOUGH THEMSELVES had never done any Sin, and
 “ AS THOUGH THEY THEMSELVES had *fulfilled* the Law
 “ to the uttermost (*o*) — He was very Man, and was
 “ bound to the Law. To what End? That He might
 “ deliver us from the Law, to which we were bound;
 “ and that we might receive the Right of the Children of
 “ God by Adoption, through God’s Goodness, BY HIS
 “ DESERVING: that we might have, through His Ful-
 “ filling of the Law, Remission of Sins and eternal Life.
 “ These are the Gifts, which He he hath deserved with
 “ HIS KEEPING OF THE LAW (*p*).” — Once more:
 “ He was a Lamb undefiled, — — — fulfilling the Law
 “ FOR Us to the uttermost: giving us, freely as a Gift,
 “ His Fulfilling to be OURS; so that WE are now Ful-
 “ fillers of the Law by His Fulfilling. So that the Law
 “ may not condemn us, for HE hath fulfilled it: that
 “ we,

(*l*) Ibid. p. 555, 556.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 602.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 604.

(*o*) Ibid. p. 777.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 792.

“ we, believing in Him, are Fulfillers of the Law, and
 “ Just, before the Face of God (q).”——Our Unrighte-
 “ ousness is forgiven us through the RIGHTEOUSNESS of
 “ Christ: for, if we believe in Him, then are we made
 “ righteous. — — — When He [God the Father] gave
 “ us His only Son, He gave us also His RIGHTEOUS-
 “ NESS and His FULFILLING OF THE LAW. So that
 “ we are JUSTIFIED by God’s FREE GIFT, and not of
 “ ourselves, nor by our Merits; BUT THE RIGHTE-
 “ OUSNESS OF CHRIST IS ACCOUNTED TO BE
 “ OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS (r).”

The Justification of God’s People, thus founded upon, resulting from, and secured by, the imputed Righteousness of Christ; this JUSTIFICATION, according to *Latimer*, and according to the Scriptures, is ABSOLUTE and TOTAL. “ Our Savior hath taken away our Sins, so that
 “ they CANNOT HURT us. For they be NO Sins, in the
 “ Sight of God. For He hath taken away the Guiltiness
 “ of Sins, and the Pains and Punishments which follow
 “ Sins. Christ hath deserved, that those, who believe in
 “ Him, shall be quit from ALL their Sins (s).”

No People are more crumbled into Sub-divisions among themselves, than the *Arminians*. That particular Sort of them, whose shameless and fruitless Efforts to blacken the Church of England have given Rise to this present Work, are *Arminian-Perfectionists*. I mean, Mr *John Wesley*, and his Junto. For the Sake of these People, and by Way of demonstrating, still farther, the palpable Falsehood, with which they lay hold on *Latimer’s* Robe, and claim him for their Kinsman; I will subjoin,

(7) Some Part of what this Reformer delivers, concerning the Doctrine of *Sinless Perfection*.

By Way of Substratum, let us hear his Testimony; respecting the Spirituality, Perfection, and Extent of the *Moral Law* reveled in the Scriptures. “ If He [i. e. if
 “ Christ]

(q) Ibid. p. 808.

(r) Ibid. p. 870, 871.

(s) Ibid. p. 336.

“ Christ] had not kept the Law, the Law had such
 “ Power, that it would have condemned us all. For so
 “ it is written: *Cursed be he, who abideth not by ALL that*
 “ *which is written in the Law.* So that, the LEAST Co-
 “ GITATION that we have against the Law of God,
 “ bringeth this CURSE upon our Heads. So that there
 “ WAS NEVER Man, nor SHALL BE One, that could re-
 “ medy himself by this Law: for it is Spiritual. It may
 “ not be fulfilled, but by the Spirit. It requireth us to
 “ be clean from ALL Spot of Sin; from ALL ill
 “ THOUGHTS, WORDS, and DEEDS. But we be *Carnal*;
 “ and as St Paul saith, *sold under Sin and Wickedness*:
 “ Therefore, he concludes thus; *By the Works of the Law*
 “ *no man can be justified.* — As Christ did them, they
 “ merit: for He did them PERFECTLY, as they OUGHT
 “ to be done. But as we do them, they CONDEMN.
 “ And yet the Lack is not in the Law, but in Us. The
 “ Law, of itself, is holy and good. But we are NOT
 “ ABLE TO KEEP it: and therefore we must seek our
 “ RIGHTEOUSNESS, not in the Law, but IN CHRIST,
 “ who hath FULFILLED the same, and given us freely
 “ His Fulfilling. And this is the chiefest Cause, why
 “ Christ would fulfil the Law [namely, for our Justifi-
 “ cation]. But all the *Papists* think themselves to be
 “ saved by the Law: and I myself have been of that
 “ dangerous, perilous, and damnable Opinion, till I was
 “ Thirty Years of Age. So long I walked in Darkness,
 “ and in the Shadow of Death. And, no Doubt, he that
 “ departeth out of this World in that Opinion, he shall
 “ never come to Heaven. For, when we will consider
 “ the Works of the Law, which the Law requireth;
 “ and, again, how we do them; we shall find, that we
 “ may not be justified by our Doings. For the Flesh
 “ reigneth in us; it beareth Rule, and hindereth the
 “ Spirit: and so WE NEVER FULFIL THE LAW. Cer-
 “ tain it is, that They, that believe in Christ, have the
 “ Holy Ghost, which ruleth and governeth them: yet,

“ for all that, there be a great many LACKS in them.
 “ So that if they would go about to be saved by their
 “ Works, they should come too short: for THEIR
 “ WORKS ARE NOT ABLE TO ANSWER THE RE-
 “ QUESTS OF THE LAW. — — — The Law requireth a
 “ PERFECT Righteousness and Holiness. Now, all they
 “ that believe in Christ, they ARE holy and righteous :
 “ for HE hath fulfilled the Law, for us which believe
 “ in Him (t).”

Such being the unrelaxing Perfection, which the Law
 inflexibly requires ; it necessarily follows, that the Sup-
 position of possible *Perfection* on Earth, is the most fanatic
 Dream, and the most gigantic Delusion, which can
 whirl the Brain of an human Being. So it appeared to
Latimer. “ No Man born into this World,” says he,
 “ is without Sin, save Christ only (u). — Who is
 “ there, in this World, that hath not Need to say, *Lord,*
 “ *forgive me ?* No Man living. Nor ever was, nor shall
 “ be, our Savior ONLY excepted (w). — There is nei-
 “ ther Man, nor Woman, than can say they *have no Sin* :
 “ for we be all Sinners (x). — We be EVER in that
 “ Case, that we have EVER Need to say, *Lord, forgive*
 “ *us* : for we EVER do amiss (y). — St Paul saith, *Let*
 “ *not Sin reign in your corruptible Body*. He doth not re-
 “ quire us, that we should HAVE no Sin, for that is
 “ IMPOSSIBLE unto us : but he requireth, that we be
 “ not SERVANTS unto Sin (z). — There is no Saint in
 “ Heaven, neither St *Peter*, or *Paul*, but, when they
 “ were Here, their Nature was corrupt, and given to
 “ Wickedness (a). — How doth He [i. e. Christ] save
 “ us from Sin ? In this Manner : that Sin shall not con-
 “ demn us ; Sin shall not have the Victory over us. He
 “ saved

(t) Ibid. p. 792, 793, 794.

(w) Ibid. p. 428.

(y) Ibid. p. 434.

(a) Ibid. p. 576.

(u) Ibid. p. 388.

(x) Ibid. p. 431.

(z) Ibid. p. 453.

“ saved us, NOT SO THAT WE SHOULD BE WITHOUT
 “ SIN, that no Sin should be left in our Hearts: No.
 “ He saved us NOT so. For ALL MANNER of Imper-
 “ fections REMAIN in us; yea in the BEST of us: so
 “ that, if God should enter into Judgment with us, we
 “ should be damned. For there neither is, nor was,
 “ ANY Man born into this World, who could say, *I am*
 “ *clean from Sin*, except Jesus Christ. Therefore He
 “ saved us not so from Sin, in taking clean away the
 “ same from us, that we should no more be inclined to
 “ it; but rather the Power and Strength of the same Sin
 “ He hath so vanquished, that it shall not be able to con-
 “ demn Those that believe in Him: for Sin is remitted,
 “ and not imputed, unto Believers (b).”

They, who, after This, can set down Bishop Latimer for a *Perfectionist*; may, with equal Reason, set him down for a *Free-willer*.—I procede,

(8.) To take his Vote on the Subject of *Universal Redemption*.

His Doctrine, concerning *Redemption* itself, is, That the People, for whom Christ died, are, by His Death, TOTALLY DISCHARGED from the Punishment due to their Sins. “ It is,” says he, “ much like as if I owed another
 “ Man Twenty Thousand Pounds, and should [i. e.
 “ must] pay it out of Hand, or else go to the Dungeon
 “ of Ludgate: and, when I am going to Prison, one of
 “ my Friends should come, and ask, *Whither goes this*
 “ *Man?* and, after he had heard the Matter, should
 “ say, *Let ME answer FOR him: I will be Surety for him;*
 “ *yea, I will pay ALL for him.* SUCH a Part played
 “ our Savior Christ with us (c).”—Elsewhere, he repetes the same Illustration; but in yet stronger Terms: “ In
 “ such Distress, cometh a good Friend, and saith, *Sir,*
 “ *be of good Cheer; I will pay thy Debts:* and forthwith
 “ PAYETH THE WHOLE SUM, and setteth me AT LI-

“ BERTY.

(b) Ibid. p. 803.

(c) Ibid. p. 211.

“BERTY. Such a Friend is our Savior. He hath PAYED
“our Debts, and SET US AT LIBERTY (d).”

From those Premises, it incontestibly follows, that not one of those for whom “*Christ payed ALL*,” not one of those for whom he discharged “*the whole Sum*,” not one of those whom He died to “*set at LIBERTY*” from Punishment; can be finally condemned: since, if condemned and punished they were to be, either the *Justice* of God the Father would fail, or it would not be true that Christ had discharged “*ALL their Debts*,” and payed off “*the whole Sum*,” and really “*set them at LIBERTY*.”—Hence, it is evident, that according to *Latimer’s* Argument, Christ was very far from dying for every Individual of Mankind: it being *Latimer’s* avowed Opinion, that very many will, in the Last Day, be sentenced to suffer the Vengeance of eternal Fire. He supposed, for Instance, that Unpreaching Bishops only will fill up a Gap, in Hell, of seven Leagues wide (e). Surely, the “*Debts*” of THESE, at least, were not “*all paid*,” nor the Debtors “*set at Liberty!*” Consequently, if *Latimer* may be credited, SOME of Mankind must have been left UNREDEEMED. Observe, I am not here professedly delivering *my own* Opinion. I am only deducing the Opinion of *Latimer*, from *Latimer’s* Premises.

But his Judgment does not stand in need of Deduction. It has the Seal and Sanction of his own express Declaration. He peremptorily affirms, that Christ did *not* die for such as shall be eventually lost. “Mark here,” says he,

X

“Scripture

(d) Ibid. p. 321.

(e) “If,” says *Latimer*, “one were admitted to view Hell thus, and, beholding it thoroughly, the Devil should say, *On yonder Side are punished Unpreaching Prelates*; I think, a Man should see as far as a Kenning, and perceive nothing but unpreaching Prelates. He might look as far as *Calais*, I warrant you.” P. 138.

“ Scripture speaketh not of (f) IMPENITENT Sinners :
 “ Christ DIED NOT for THEM ; His Death remedyeth not
 “ THEIR Sins (g).” — Now, if there be any, for whom
 Christ “ DIED NOT,” and whose Sins His Death “ *re-*
medyeth not ;” it follows, that, in this Reformer’s Idea,
Redemption is NOT universal.

His frequently affirming, that Christ expiated the Sins of “ *the whole World,*” does by no means clash with his Doctrine in the above Passages. Indeed, it is saying no more than the Scripture has repeatedly said before him. The Point of Enquiry is, what does that Phrase, *the whole World,* import? Surely, not every Person, without Exception, who did, does, or shall exist: for, in *that* Sense of the Phrase, it seems impossible that Christ *could* die for All. Some, for Instance, in our Lord’s Time at least, were guilty of that Sin which He Himself has pronounced *absolutely unpardonable* : and would He die for the Pardon of Those, whose Sin, he avers, shall *never be pardoned*? This would be like a Man’s paying down an inestimable Ransom for such as, he knows at the very Time of his paying it, neither will nor can ever be set at Liberty. — Besides: what shall we say of those many final Impenitents, whose departed Souls had been in the Place of Torment, Ages and Ages *before* Christ was crucified at all? Full Four Thousand Years had elapsed, from the Creation, ere the Messiah was even manifested in the Flesh. And Scripture will not permit us to believe, that the *Whole* of Mankind, who died within that extensive Period, were glorified in Heaven. Now, it would both impeach the *Wisdom*, and affront the *Dignity* of Christ, as well as infinitely depreciate the *Value* of His Sacrifice, to
 suppose,

(f) By “ *Impenitent Sinners,*” he necessarily means the *finally* Impenitent: such as shall actually be banished from the Presence of the Lord, and from the Glory of His Power, when Christ comes to judge the World in Righteousness.

(g) Ibid. p. 322.

suppose, that He could possibly shed His Blood on the Cross, for those very Souls, which were, at that very Time, suffering for their own Sins in Hell. The Tenet, therefore, of a Redemption absolutely universal, will not stand the Test either of Scripture, Reason, or the Analogy of Faith. — Shall we, for Example, affirm, that Christ died for the Salvation of *Judas*? The Fact seems to be impossible. 'Tis plain, that *Judas* slew himself, subsequently to the Apprehension, but ANTECEDENTLY to the *actual Crucifixion*, of Christ (*b*). The Soul of *Judas*, therefore, went to *its own Place* of Punishment, BEFORE Christ had offered Himself in Sacrifice to God. And I cannot, for my own Part, see, with what Propriety Christ could die to *save* a Person *from* going to Hell, who was *actually there* already.

Whether these particular Topics ever occurred to the Mind of Bishop *Latimer*, or not, I will not take upon me to decide. But one would imagine they had: or, at least, that his Judgment, concerning the Extent of Redemption, was determined by Considerations equally weighty. For, when he speaks of Christ's having redeemed *the whole World*, he takes Care to apprize us, That he uses this large Term in a very restricted Sense. My Proofs follow.

“ God is not only a private Father, but a common
 “ Father unto THE WHOLE WORLD, unto ALL THE
 “ FAITHFUL, be they never so poor and miserable (*i*).
 “ — We know that Christ is offered once for us,
 X 2 “ and

(*b*) This Observation throws Light on that Passage of *Latimer*, where he says, that Christ shed as much Blood for *Judas*, as for *Peter*. Not that Christ actually died for *Judas* (whose Death was prior to that of Christ Himself): but that the Mediator's Blood was *as much* SUFFICIENT (so infinite was its Value) to have redeemed even *Judas*, had it been shed for that Purpose, as to have redeemed any other Person. A Sentiment, to which I subscribe, with Heart and Hand.

(*i*) Ibid. p. 332.

“ and that this one Offering remedieth ALL THE SINS
 “ OF THE WHOLE WORLD; for He was the Lamb which
 “ was killed from the Beginning of the World: that is
 “ to say, ALL THEY THAT BELIEVED in Him, since
 “ Adam was created, they were saved by Him (k).”
 ’Tis plain then, that, by the *whole World*, Latimer means
 no more than the *whole World of the FAITHFUL*, the
whole World of them that BELIEVE.—One more Testimony
 shall stand for all. “ He only hath merited, with his
 “ painful Passion, to be a Savior of the WHOLE WORLD:
 “ that is, to deliver ALL THEM THAT BELIEVE in Him,
 “ from their Sins and Wickedness (l).” So speaks *La-*
timer. And Calvinism says the very same.

If Christ died only for them that (m) *believe*, or in
 whom Faith is wrought; it follows, that Faith is an ex-
 ceeding great and precious Gift. It may be worth our
 while to enquire into *Latimer’s* Definition of what Faith
 is: and the rather, as his Definition of Faith will conduce,
 still farther, to demonstrate, that *Redemption* is, in his
 Judgment, not strictly universal, but *limited*.

“ We must,” says this honest Master in Israel, “ have
 “ the right FAITH, the lively Faith, the Faith that
 “ bringeth Salvation: which consisteth in Believing that
 “ *Christ died for MY Sins Sake*.—I must not stand in *Ge-*
 “ *neralities*, as to believe that Christ suffered under Pon-
 “ tius Pilate: but I must believe that That was done *for*
 “ *MY Sake*, to redeem with his Passion MY Sins, and all
 “ theirs which believe and trust in Him. If I believe so,
 “ then I shall not be deceived (n).—I must believe, for
 “ MYSELF,

(k) Ibid. p. 557, 558.

(l) Ibid. p. 775.

(m) No Objection can hence arise, against the Salvation of such
 as die in *Infancy* (all of whom are undoubtedly saved); nor yet
 against the Salvation of God’s Elect among the *Heathens*, *Maho-*
medans, and others. The Holy Spirit is able to inspire the *Grace*
 of virtual Faith into those Hearts (especially at the Moment of
 Dissolution), which are incapable of exerting the explicit Act of
 Faith.

(n) Ibid. p. 435.

“ MYSELF, that his Blood was *shed for ME (o).*” Such an Account of true *Faith*, as This; necessarily infers the actual *Limitation* of *Redemption*. For, where is the *peculiar Privilege* of believing that “*Christ shed his Blood for ME,*” if it be true that he actually shed His Blood for *every Body*? If he redeemed the *entire* Race of Mankind, without exempting so much as *one* (which the Arminian Doctrine of universal Redemption supposes); His Blood *must* of Course have been shed for *me* among the rest, whether I *believe* it or no. Where, then, is either the Use, or the Importance, of this Faith, on the Hypothesis of an unlimited Ransom (*p*)? I conclude, therefore, that the Reformer, who has lain down *such* a Definition of “*the Faith which bringeth Salvation;*” could never, in the very Nature of Things, suppose the Ransom to be unlimited. And, indeed, as we have already shewn, he himself has expressly declared, that he did *not* suppose it.

But, though he believed Redemption not to be absolutely universal, this Belief of his did by no Means arise (any more than ours) from a diminutive Idea of the *Worth* and *Value* of Christ’s Atonement. He acknowledged its *intrinsic* SUFFICIENCY to redeem every Individual of the Human Species, though he denied its *actual* UNIVERSALITY. Thus he speaks. “Notwithstanding His Death “ might be SUFFICIENT for (*q*) for all the whole World,
“ yet,

(o) Ibid. p. 609.

(p) Add to this, that the Tenet of Universal Redemption would, instead of inducing us to seek for an Application of Christ’s Death to *ourselves* in particular, be the ready and effectual Way to make us “*stand in GENERALITIES:*” which, as we have just heard, good Latimer so expressly cautions us against standing in.

(q) Observe, how carefully Latimer varies his Phraseology: he does not say, merely, *for the whole World*; but, *for ALL the whole World*. — When he affirmed, in the Passages quoted above (See p. 316.), that Christ died *for the whole World*, he

“ yet, for all that, NO MAN shall ENJOY that same Benefit, but ONLY they that BELIEVE in Him (r).”—— And who are they that shall believe and be saved? Let *Latimer* answer the Question. “ Therefore he is called “ JESUS, because He shall save HIS PEOPLE from “ their Sins; as the Angel of God Himself witnesseth (s).”

All, that now remains, is,

(9.) To enquire into what he has delivered, concerning the Doctrine of *Final Perseverance*.

There was a Time, when *Latimer* seems to have rather symbolized with some of the *Lutherans*, on this Article. *Luther* himself did not believe the Being of a God, more firmly, than he believed the total and final Perseverance of the Regenerate Elect. But, soon after *Luther's* Death, some of those Protestants, who called themselves by his Name, began to deviate from the Purity and Strictness of that Reformer's System. One of these Deviations respected the *Degree* of possible Apostacy. A Branch of nominal Lutherans begun to teach, that, though a truly sanctified Person could not fall *finally* from Grace, he might nevertheless fall *totally*: he might make utter shipwreck of Faith, for the Time being; though he should certainly (by Virtue of God's immovable Covenant and Election) be regenerated *over again*, and *saved* at Last. — Though this was rather a bungling Idea of Perseverance, equally illogical and unscriptural, yet it did not clash with that Part of the Christian System which

explains his Meaning, by adding, *all the Faithful, all those that believe*. But here, when he speaks of the Dignity and Sufficiency of Christ's Propitiation; he *enlarges* the Term, and says, *for ALL the whole World*. Making it evident, that as, by *the whole World*, he meant only the World of *Believers*, whom alone he supposed to be actually redeemed by Christ; so, by the still more extensive Term of, *for ALL the whole World*, he designed, in this Place, to signify all Mankind *at large*: for whose Redemption, the Death of Christ was certainly, in itself, *sufficient*, and *super-sufficient*.

(r) Ibid. p. 609.

(s) Ibid. p. 609.

which asserts the *Certainty* of EVENTUAL Salvation to all true Believers: and so came infinitely short of the Absurdity of Arminianism, which supposes, not only a total, but a *final* Defectibility of Grace; than which nothing can be more monstrous and prophane.

That *Latimer* once imagined Divine Grace in the Hearts of the Regenerate to be *totally* (though not *finally*) defectible, appears from that Passage, in one of his Sermons, where he speaks of a Person's being sometimes *in*, and sometimes *out of* Christ and the Book of Life. The Passage runs thus: "But you will say, How shall I know that I am in the Book of Life? how shall I try myself to be elected of God to everlasting Life? I answer; first, we may know, that we may one Time be in the Book, and another Time come out again: as it appeared by *David*, who was written in the Book of Life; but, when he sinned, he was out of the Book of the Favor of God, until he had repented, and was sorry for his Faults. So we may be in the Book one Time; and, afterward, when we forget God and his Word, come out of the Book: that is, out of Christ, which is the Book. And in that Book are written all Believers (t)." — God forbid, that I should so much as wish to represent any Thing differently from what it really is. I acknowledge, that, when *Latimer* delivered the above Paragraph, he seemed, on *this* Head, to have co-incided in Judgment with the *new* Lutherans. And I likewise add, That he was the *only* one of all our English Reformers, who trod in this Bye-Path. Consequently, his private Opinion, in which he was perfectly *singular*, and absolutely stood *alone*, affects not the public Doctrine of the Church of England.

But if *Latimer* was, at one Time, somewhat excentric, in Point of *total* Defectibility; he was steadfast as a Rock,

(t) Ibid. p. 846, 847.

and true as a Needle to the Magnet, in Point of *final* Perseverance. This I aver; and now procede to prove.

“ALL they,” says Latimer, “that BELIEVED in Christ, “since Adam was created, were SAVED by Him (u).”

Speaking of the *Fear of Death*, from which many eminent Saints are not entirely delivered, he thus goes on: “Yea, the Elect People of God, the Faithful, having “the Beholding of His Face, though GOD HATH AL- “WAYS PRESERVED THEM (such a good God is He “to them that believe in Him, that He will not suffer “them to be tempted above that that they are able to “bear); yet, for all that, there is nothing that they “complain of more sore, than this Horror of Death (x)”

To that artful Question, asked by the Papists, *Do you think that all your Cathelic Fore-fathers are damned?* Bishop Latimer judiciously answers, That, as many of them as went to Heaven, were saved by Virtue of God’s ELECT-ING Grace, and were FINALLY PRESERVED by It to Life eternal. “To the Question, of our Fore-fathers: “God knoweth His ELECT, and diligently WATCHETH “and KEEPETH them, so that ALL THINGS SERVE “TO THEIR SALVATION. The Nature of Fire is, to “burn all that is laid in it: yet God kept the three young “Men in Babylon, that they burnt not. And Moses “saw a Bush on Fire: but it burnt not. So false Doc- “trine burneth as the Fire: it corrupteth. But God “KEPT His ELECT, that THEY were NOT corrupted “with it; but ALWAYS put their Trust in One ever- “living God, through the Death of Jesus Christ our “Lord. In Elias’s Time, Idolatry and Superstition “reigned: so that Elias said, *Lord, they have destroyed “thy Altars, and slain thy Prophets and Preachers, and I “am left alone.* But the Lord answered him, *I HAVE “RESERVED TO MYSELF seven Thousand Men, who have “not bowed their Knees to Baal.* So God, I trust, RE- “SERVED

(u) Ibid. p. 553.

(x) Ibid. p. 208.

“ SERVED our Fore-fathers, in so perilous Times, more graciously than we can think (y).”

According to this good Man, Satan is an Enemy whom every true Believer is *certain* of overcoming. “ The Devil hath no farther Power than God will ALLOW him. The Devil can go no farther, than God PERMITTETH him to do. Which Thing shall strengthen our Faith : infomuch that we shall be SURE to overcome him (z).”—God “ Is able to help us in our Distress, and grant our Requests. And though these be great Things, yet we need not to despair ; but consider that he is Lord over Heaven and Earth, that He is ABLE to do for us, and that He WILL do so, being our Father and our Lord, and King over all Things (a).”

Latimer very rightly deduces the final *Perseverance* of the Saints, from the *Love* which God bears in Christ to his Believing People. “ In the Prophets, every where, He setteth out His great LOVE which he hath towards us, saying, *Can a Woman forget her own Child, which she hath born into the World ? yea, and though she do forget the same, yet I will not forget thee.* It is a rare Thing, when the Devil so much prevaieth in Parents, that a Mother should neglect or forget her own Child. Yet, saith God, *though it were so, that she could forget her Child, yet WILL NOT I FORGET THEE* when thou BELIEVEST in my Son Christ. For the Devil cannot prevail against ME, though he prevail against [such] Women, so that sometimes they forget their own Children, or kill them : yet he shall not prevail against ME, for I am mightier than he is (b).” This is hinging the Question on the right Point. While God perseveres in his Love to the Saints, the Saints cannot but persevere in the Grace of God. So that *God Himself* must cease to persevere, e’er *They* can.

Latimer

(y) Ibid. p. 261.

(a) Ibid. p. 466.

(z) Ibid. p. 463.

(b) Ibid. p. 575.

Latimer justly observes, that the *Comfort* of Faith may be suspended, though the *Grace* of Faith is perpetual and inamissible. “It is said, in Scripture, that God *leadeth* [as it were] *into Hell, and bringeth up again*. And so it is with such fearful Men: for God doth cast them into Hell, [i. e.] He hideth himself from them; but AT LENGTH He bringeth them OUT AGAIN, and establisheth them with a CONSTANT Faith, so that they may be SURE of their SALVATION and EVERLASTING LIFE. I knew once a Woman, who was *seventeen Years* in such an Extacy and Fear: but at length she RECOVERED AGAIN, and God endued her with a strong and steadfast Faith IN THE END (c).”

Nothing can be more *comfortable* to an awakened Mind, than this blessed Infallibility of Perseverance. “This is now AN EXCEEDING COMFORT to all Christian People: for they may be ASSURED, that when they believe in Christ, and Christ taketh their Parts, there shall be nothing, neither in Heaven, nor in Earth, that shall be able to hurt them, or LETT [i. e. *hinder*] THEM of their SALVATION (d).”——Again: “By this Text [viz. *He that spared not his own Son, &c.*] it appeareth, that he that hath Christ hath all Things: he hath Christ’s fulfilling of the Law; he hath Remission of his Sins; and so, CONSEQUENTLY, EVERLASTING LIFE. Is not This a COMFORT (e) ?”

“Whosoever thus BELIEVETH, mistrusting himself and his own Doings, and trusting in the Merits of Christ; he shall GET THE VICTORY over Death, the Devil, and Hell: so that they shall not hurt him, neither all their Powers be able to STAND AGAINST ANY OF THOSE WHO ARE IN CHRIST JESUS (f).——Who is a just Man? He is Just, that BELIEVETH in our Sa-
vior,

(c) Ibid. p. 670.

(d) Ibid. p. 692.

(e) Ibid. p. 795.

(f) Ibid. p. 809.

“ vior. For, as you have heard before, those, who BELIEVE in Christ, are JUSTIFIED before God: they are clean delivered from ALL Sins, and therefore may be called JUST; for so they are, in the Sight of God. SUCH, saith the Prophet, he hath NEVER seen FORSAKEN of God (g).”

So far was *Latimer* from not holding the Final Perseverance of true Believers, that he held it SINFUL in True Believers to DOUBT of their own Final Perseverance. “ We must always consider that God is ABLE to save us, and believe undoubtedly that He WILL save us. So that, when I am sick, as is said before, I may doubt whether God will deliver me from my Sicknefs, or no: BUT I MAY NOT DOUBT OF EVERLASTING LIFE (h).”

He considered the Doctrine of Perseverance, as a powerful Support and Consolation, under even the outward Afflictions of the present Life. Christ “ Is every where, and will be with us UNTO THE END OF THE WORLD, as He promised to His Apostles after His Resurrection, saying, *Lo, I will be with you until the End of the World.* Which is the greatest Comfort that may be, unto a Christian Heart: for it is a stay to all trouble (i).”

Perseverance is but another Name for *Retaining* the Grace of God. And, according to *Latimer*, Grace is retained by all who are made truly Good. “ TO RETAIN is the Property of the GOOD Seed. Therefore if thou canst find the KEEPING of God’s most holy Word in thy Heart, then thou art in the good Ground, and shalt bring forth much Fruit: thou shalt keep the Word of God with Patience. For God hath EVER a Church: and THOSE that be OF the Church, will KEEP His Word with Patience (k).” — Such, therefore, as do not KEEP it with Patience, or Perseverance; were never of God’s Church, but Reprobates and Hypocrites.

Were

(g) Ibid. p. 818.

(h) Ibid. p. 84 .

(i) Ibid. p. 851.

(k) Ibid. p. 900, 901.

Were I to adduce all Bishop *Latimer's* Assertions in Behalf of Final Perseverance, they would amount to a little Volume. The three Following shall close the Subject.

“ We may learn here [viz. from *Matth.* viii. 23, &c.],
 “ that the *Ship* signified the Congregation of Christ and
 “ His *Church*. The Disciples, being in the Ship, are
 “ PRESERVED, through Christ. So, ALL those WHICH
 “ ARE IN THE CHURCH of Christ, shall be SAVED and
 “ PRESERVED by Him. The *Others*, which are with-
 “ out this Church [i. e. the Reprobate], shall be damn-
 “ ed and perish (*l*).”

“ If thou BELIEVEST in Him, then thou art written
 “ in the Book of Life, and SHALT BE SAVED (*m*).”

“ The Lord knoweth which are HIS. Also Christ
 “ Himself saith, *No Man shall take those FROM me, whom*
 “ *my Father hath GIVEN to me*: that is to say, which are
 “ ORDAINED to EVERLASTING LIFE (*n*).”

Thus have I lain before the Reader some (and only some) of those Proofs, which are on Record, of Bishop *Latimer's* Calvinism. And I have done it, with much more Amplitude, than I otherwise should, for this plain Reason; viz. To shew, that, though this worthy Martyr was (as already observed) by far the *most unlearned*, and by much the *least guarded* and accurate, among the whole Choir of English Reformers; still he was in Reality, a *Calvinist*, a *strict Calvinist*, a *zealous Calvinist*, and, in most respects, a *consistent Calvinist*.

I have produced upwards of an Hundred Passages from *Latimer* himself, in Support of the above Assertion: and, if need had required, could have augmented the List with an Hundred more. But enough has been alledged, to turn the Ballance of *Latimer's* Testimony on the Side of our established Doctrines. Though a Million of *Wesleys* and *Sellons*, with their whole *Ragged Regiment* of Cobblers, Tinkers, Shoe-blacks, and Old Women, were to hang
 ly

(*l*) Ibid. p. 855.

(*m*) Ibid. p. 846.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 564.

by the opposite Scale; they would all mount and sprawl aloft in Air, till they tumbled off in Clusters, not without execrating the insuperable Gravity of *Latimer* and the Church of *England*.

Some Readers, perhaps, may think, I have been too extensive and diffuse, in my Quotations from this venerable Bishop. If the Reason, already assigned, will not avail for my Apology; the only farther Amends, I am able to make, is, to promise, that my Extracts, from each of the remaining Reformers, shall be less prolix.

SECTION XIV.

The Judgment of our ENGLISH REFORMERS concluded.

IV. **D**OCTOR *John Hooper*, Bishop of *Gloucester* and *Worcester*, comes next to be considered. He was born in *Somersetshire*, A. D. 1495; and received the Academical Part of his Education at *Merton College, Oxford*. The exact Time of his Conversion to the Protestant Faith, is unknown: but it certainly was previous to the Year 1539. For, upon the passing of the Six Bloody Articles into a Statute, which happened in that Year, we find Mr *Hooper* quitting *England* for the Sake of a good Conscience, and wandering like a Partridge hunted on the Mountains, first into *France, Ireland, and Holland*; and from thence to *Switzerland*: in which latter, he lived partly at *Basil*, and partly at *Zurich*, where he became intimately acquainted with the Learned *Bullinger*.

On the Death of *Henry VIII.* in 1547, our venerable Exile returned to his native Country. Prior to his setting out from *Zurich*, he dropt a very remarkable Expression, in his parting Interview with *Bullinger*. “In all Probability,”

“ bility,” said *Bullinger*, “ King Edward will raise you to a Bishopric. If so, don’t suffer your Elevation to make you forgetful of your old Friends in Switzerland. Let us, from Time to Time, have the Satisfaction of hearing from you.” *Hooper* answered, “ No change of Place, or of Station, no Accession of new Friends, shall ever render me unmindful of yourself and my other Benefactors here. You may depend on my carefully corresponding with you. But it will not be in my Power, to write you an Account of the last News of all: for” [taking *Bullinger* by the Hand], “ others will inform you of my being burned to Ashes in that very Place where, in the mean while, I shall labor most for God and the Gospel (o).” The holy Man was not mistaken in his Prediction. *Gloucester* was, afterwards, the principal Seat of his Religious Labors; and, at *Gloucester*, he sealed those Labors with his Blood, Feb 9, 1555, in the 60th Year of his Age: being, as *Burnet* (p) observes, the First of our Protestant Bishops that suffered Death for the Gospel.

He is universally allowed to have been eminently pious, extensively Learned, and of the most unimpeachable Morals. A noble Instance of the Steadiness and Impartiality, with which he labored to discountenance Vice, occurs in the History last referred to. Being in his Diocese of *Gloucester*, he denounced the Censures of the Church against some Persons of inferior Station, who had been convicted of open Lewdness. One of them had the Courage to say to him, *We poor People must do Penance for these Things; while Great and Rich Men, though as guilty as ourselves, are suffered to escape unpunished and unnoticed.* The Bishop answered, *Name any Person, how Great soever, who can be convicted of Adultery; and I will give you leave to use me as roughly as you please, if I do not proceed against him with all the Severity of Justice.* The intrepid Prelate

(o) See *Fox*, Vol. III. p. 119.

(p) *Refor.* Vol. III. p. 240.

Prelate was soon as good as his Word: for, in a few Days after, he cited Sir *Anthony Kingston*, a Man of high Consequence in that Country, into the Ecclesiastical Court: and though, for some Time, the Knight behaved with great Haughtiness and Outrage, he was at last forced to do Penance, and pay a Fine of 500*l.* besides (q).

As Dr *Hooper* was thus a resolute Assertor of Virtue, so he asserted, with no less Resolution, those grand Evangelical Doctrines, from the experimental Belief of which, all genuine Virtue flows.—He observes, that, in Heaven, the Souls of the Faithful are “*For ever praising the Lord, in Conjunction and Society everlasting with the Blessed Company of God’s ELECT, in perpetual Joy (r).*” — And he mentions it, as one capital Instance of the Patience of God’s People on Earth, that “*They wait until the NUMBER of the ELECT be FULFILLED (s)*”—With an Eye to the same precious Doctrine of Election, he adds, in a Letter, written a few Weeks before his Martyrdom, that the glorified Spirits of them who had, in all Ages, suffered Death for the Cause of Christ, were joyfully expecting the happy Day, “*When they shall receive their Bodies again in Immortality, and see the NUMBER of the ELECT associated with them in full and consummate Joys (t).*”

He is equally explicit, as to the Necessity of GRACE. He justly observes, that true Contentment under Affliction, is the Fruit of supernatural Regeneration. “*It is not the Nature of Man that can be contented, until it be REGENERATED and possessed with God’s Spirit, to bear patiently the Troubles of the Mind, or of the Body (u).*”—Again: “*These Things*” [viz. the Knowledge and Love of Heavenly Objects] “*are easy to be spoken of, but not so easy to be practised. Wherefore, seeing they be God’s GIFTS, and NONE OF OURS to have of our own when we would,*

“ we

(q) *Burnet*, Ibid. p. 209, 210.

(r) *Fox*. III. 132.

(s) Ibid. p. 133.

(t) Ibid. p. 135.

(u) Ibid. p. 131.

“ *we must seek them at our Heavenly Father’s Hand* (x). —
 “ *Howbeit, NO Man OF HIMSELF can do this*” [i. e. can
 pray and hope aright] ; “ *but the SPIRIT of God, that strick-*
 “ *eth the Man’s Heart with Fear, prayeth for the Man*
 “ *stricken and feared, with unspeakable Groanings* (y).” —
 Once more : “ *Christ saith to every one of HIS PEOPLE, By*
 “ *your own Patience ye shall continue your Life : not*
 “ *that Man hath Patience in* [i. e. of] *HIMSELF, but that*
 “ *he must have it for himself of God, the ONLY GIVER of*
 “ *it* (z).”

On the great Article of JUSTIFICATION also, Hooper was a thorough Calvinist. This appears from the *Confession of Faith* (an Extract of which is preserved in *Burnet*), which was signed, not only by Hooper himself, but by two Bishops besides, and seven eminent Ministers ; all, at that Time, Prisoners for the Gospel : viz. Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter ; Farrar, Bishop of St David’s ; with Taylor, Philpot, Bradford, Crome, Sanders, Rogers and Lawrence. In this excellent Declaration, the Heroic Sufferers publicly certified, that they “ *Held JUSTIFICA-*
 “ *TION BY FAITH : which Faith,*” said they, “ *is not*
 “ *only an Opinion, but a certain Persuasion, WROUGHT*
 “ *BY THE HOLY GHOST, which doth ILLUMI-*
 “ *NATE the Mind, and SUPPLE the Heart to submit itself*
 “ *unfeignedly to God.*” They add, that they “ *acknowledged*
 “ *an inherent Righteousness ; yet, they believed, that JUSTI-*
 “ *FICATION, and PARDON of Sins, came ONLY by*
 “ *CHRIST’S RIGHTEOUSNESS IMPUTED to them* (a).”

Let me, next, subjoin a Word or two, concerning Hooper’s Doctrine of PROVIDENCE. “ *God,*” says he, “ *hath such Care and Charge of us, that He will keep, in the*
 “ *midst of all Troubles, the very HAIRS of our Head : so*
 “ *that ONE of them shall NOT FALL away, without the*
 “ *WILL*

(x) Ibid. p. 132.

(y) Ibid.

(z) Ibid. p. 133.

(a) Burnet’s Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 265.

“WILL and PLEASURE of our Heavenly Father. Whether the Hair, therefore, TARRY on the Head, or FALL from the Head, it is the WILL of the Father (b).” — Again: “They” [i. e. all Afflictions] “be Servants of God, to go and come as He COMMANDETH them (c).” — Once more: “Of this I am assured, that the wicked World, with all its Force and Power, shall not touch one of the Hairs of our Heads, without LEAVE and LICENSE of our heavenly Father (d).”

A Specimen of what he advances, respecting FINAL PERSEVERANCE, shall for the present, conclude his Testimony. To a Company of Protestants, who had been surprized at a Religious Meeting, and committed to Prison; he thus wrote: “God will go in and out with you, and will be present in your Hearts and in your Mouths. — He that hath BEGUN that Work in you, will surely STRENGTHEN you in the same (e).” — In a Letter to his own Lady, he says; “Remember, that although your (f) Life, as all Christian Men’s be, be hid, and appear-eth not, what it is; yet it is SAFE (as St Paul saith) with God in Christ: and when Christ shall appear, then shall our Lives be made open [i. e. be rendered conspicuous] with him in Glory (g).” — He adds, a little lower: “We may be tempted of the Devil, the Flesh, and the World; but yet, although these things pinch, they do not pierce: and though they work Sin in us, yet in Christ NO DAMNATION to those that be GRAFTED in Him. Hereof may the Christian Man learn both Consolation and Patience. Consolation, in that [notwithstanding] he is compelled, both in his Body and Goods, to feel Pain and Loss; and,

Y

“ in

(b) Fox, Vol. III. p. 131.

(c) Ibid. p. 132.

(d) Ibid. p. 134.

(e) Strype’s Eccles. Memor. Vol. III. Append. N^o 27. p. 78.

(f) He means, the Soul of each Person who is regenerated by the Holy Ghost.

(g) Fox, u. s. p. 132.

“ in Soul, Heaviness and Anguish of Mind ; howbeit, NONE
 “ of them both shall SEPARATE him from the Love that God
 “ beareth him in Christ. — He may learn Patience, forasmuch
 “ as his Enemies, both of Body and Soul, and the Pains also
 “ they vex us withal for the Time ; if they tarry with us long
 “ as we live, yet, when Death cometh, they shall avoid, and
 “ give place to such Joys as be PREPARED for us in
 “ Christ (b).” — To one Mrs Anne Warcop, who was in
 Danger on Account of the Gospel, the Holy Bishop wrote
 as follows : “ I did rejoice, at the Coming of this Bearer, to
 “ understand of your Constancy ; and that you are fully re-
 “ solved, by God’s Grace, rather to suffer Extremity, than
 “ to go from the Truth of God which you have professed. He
 “ that GAVE you Grace to BEGIN so infallible a Truth,
 “ will follow you in the same UNTO THE END (i).”

From Bishop Hooper, I pass on,

V. To Doctor Martin Bucer : a Man, whose Discretion, Mildness and Benevolence, procured him the Name of “ *The MODERATE Reformer ;*” and whose admirable Talents obliged even *Vossius* to style him, *Ter Maximum Bucerum*. His judicious Labors, during his Residence in this Kingdom, greatly assisted in the Reformation of our Church, at Home ; and his Learned Pen was, no less zealously and successfully, engaged, in defending and vindicating her Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline, from the Calumnies of Papists, and from the ill-judged Exceptions of some foreign Protestants, Abroad. Taking every Thing into the Account, he was, perhaps, in Point of Temper, Conduct, and Abilities, one of the most amiable and unexceptionable Divines that ever lived : though few Persons have been more insulted and traduced, by Bigots of all Denominations.

He was born, A. D. 1491. at *Schelstadt*, in *Alsace*. In his early Part of Life, he entered himself of the Order of Dominican Friars : but, after a Time, God shewed him

(b) Ibid.

(i) Ibid. p. 135.

a more excellent Way. Some Writings of *Erasmus* are said (*k*) to have given his Mind the first Shock against Popery. His Doubts were afterwards improved into a full Conviction of the Truth, by the Books of *Luther*. As *Luther's* Writings had driven the Nail to the Head; so some personal Interviews, which *Bucer* had with that Reformer, first at *Heidelberg*; and then, at *Worms*, in 1521; clinched the Nail so effectually, that *Bucer* determined, from that Time forward, to profess the Doctrines of the Gospel more openly than ever. The Conversations of these two great Men, during those memorable Interviews, appear to have turned chiefly on the Articles of *Free-Will* and *Justification*.

In the Year 1548, *Bucer* was (not at the Recommendation of *Melancthon*, but at the Recommendation of Archbishop (*l*) *Cranmer*) invited, by King *Edward*, from *Strasburg* to England. The Learned *Fagius* was invited at the same Time; and accompanied *Bucer* hither. Being arrived, *Bucer* was made Divinity-Professor at *Cambridge*; with a Salary, treble to what any of his Predecessors had enjoyed. "These grave and learned Doctors," says Mr *Strype*, meaning *Martin Bucer* and *Peter Martyr*, "were placed there [viz in the two Universities; *Bucer* at *Cambridge*, and *Martyr* at *Oxford*]: the Lord Protector and the Archbishop judging them the FITTEST Persons to inform the Students in their Notions and Doctrines concerning Religion. Because, as they were very Learned in other Sciences; so, in Divinity, they took the Holy Scripture for their Guide, and gathered their Tenets from NO OTHER Authority but from thence; according to the constant Principle of the great and good Archbishop (*m*)."—I shall quickly shew,

Y 2

that

(*k*) *Melch. Adam. Vit. Theolog. German. p. 211. — Edit. Heidelb. 1620.*

(*l*) See *Strype's Eccl. Mem. Vol. II. p. 121. — Also, Melch. Adam. p. 219.*

(*m*) *Strype, ubi supra.*

that the Archbishop and the Lord Protector were not mistaken, in their favorable Opinion of the two celebrated Foreigners; and that these illustrious Divines did indeed “gather their TENETS from no other Authority but the “HOLY SCRIPTURES.”

BUT *Bucer's* Business in England, and that of *Martyr*, was not restrained to the Divinity-Chairs of *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, or to the Instruction of the Youth who were to serve in the Ministry of this Protestant Church. Those Learned Professors had likewise an Hand in the Reformation and Settlement of the Church herself. Even the fierce-flaming and high-flying Mr *Samuel Downes*, notwithstanding all his redundant Bitterness against Calvinism, both foreign and domestic, is compelled to own (though with grievous Reluctance, and with no little mincing and twisting), That *the LITURGY itself* was submitted to the Judgment and Correction of *Bucer* and *Martyr*. These Divines, says Mr *Downes*, “Being Men of great Learning, and of a moderate and peaceable Disposition, had “been invited over by Archbishop *Cranmer*: and had, “by their prudent Carriage, and Affection to our regular “Constitution, which they had given a remarkable Influence of in their Answers to *Hooper's* Scruples concerning “the Episcopal Habit, so well recommended themselves “to the esteem of our Bishops; that it was thought expedient to lay a Latin Translation of the *Liturgy* before “them, and desire THEIR OPINION concerning what “EXPLANATIONS, or EMENDATIONS, were requisite “to be made (n).”——Thus far, all is fair, candid and true. And, if this be indeed (as indeed it is) a just State of the Fact; I should be glad to know, with what Propriety and Consistency the Arminian Life-Compiler has subjoined, in the very next Words to those last cited, “But there is a wide Difference between asking their Advice, and adding, or omitting, according to their Hu-

“MOUR

“*MOUR* and *Fancy*.” Is not this, indirectly, saying that *Bucer* and *Martyr* were *humorsome*, *fanciful* Men? And how does such an unjust and ungenerous Implication comport with the Character which this very Writer has, a Moment before, given of these very Persons; viz. That “their *Disposition* was *peaceable* and *moderate*, that “their *Carriage* was *prudent*, and their *Affection* to our “Regular Constitution so *remarkable* as to recommend “them to the esteem of the Reforming Bishops?”—It does not appear, that either *Bucer* or *Martyr* had any Singularity, either of “*Humor*,” or of “*Fancy*,” to indulge. On the Contrary, their *Modesty* and *Moderation* were known to all Men, and have pressed even Mr *Downes* himself into an acknowledgment of Both.—It may be asked, *Did the English Reformers actually make any Alterations in the Book of Common Prayer, conformably to the Judgments of Martyr and Bucer?* I answer, YES. And the aforesaid Mr *Downes* shall second my Testimony. Though, through an Excess of Bigotry, he falters in pronouncing his Evidence, still the Evidence itself is full to the Point. “If SOME Particulars were ALTERED agreeable to THEIR “Judgment, it was, Because our Bishops thought the “Reasons, which they [i. e. which *Martyr* and *Bucer*] “gave, for making those Alterations, conclusive and “convincing (o).” Admitted.—It remains, then, That these two foreign Calvinists were actually concerned in the modeling of our English Liturgy: and, consequently, that they had some Hand in the Reformation of the Church of England.

But were they indeed *Doctrinal Calvinists*? Let their own Works answer the Question. I shall begin with *Bucer*: and cite his Observations, not under distinct Heads, but in the same Order as I extracted them, from such of his Books, as I could have present Recourse to.

“PREDESTINATION,” says *Bucer*, “is neither more nor less than PRE-LIMITATION, or FORE-APPOINTMENT: and God, who consigns every Thing to its proper Use, worketh all Things agreeably to His own Pre-determination; and, accordingly, separates one Thing from another, so as to make each Thing answer to its respective Use. If you desire a more extensive Definition of this Predestination, take it thus: *Predestination is an APPOINTMENT of EVERY Thing to its proper Use; by which Appointment, God doth, before He made them, even FROM ETERNITY, destin ALL Things whatever to some CERTAIN and PARTICULAR Use.* Hence it follows, That even WICKED MEN are PREDESTINATED. For, as God forms them out of Nothing, so He forms them to some determinate End: for He does all Things, knowingly, and wisely. *The Lord hath made all Things for Himself, even the Wicked for the Day of Evil* [Prov. xvi. 4.]. Divines, however, do not usually call this, *Predestination*; but, REPROBATION. — ’Tis certain, that God makes a GOOD USE of EVIL itself: and every Sin we commit, hath something in it of the good Work of God (p). — Scripture does not hesitate to affirm, that there are some Persons, whom God delivers over to a reprobate Sense, and whom He forms for Destruction: Why, therefore, should it be deemed derogatory from God, to assert, that He not only DOES this, but RESOLVED BEFOREHAND to do it (q)?”

Nothing

(p) Every Sin we commit, has something in it of the good Work of God. I cannot clearly understand, what *Bucer* intends by this extraordinary, and seemingly harsh Mode of Expression. Be his Meaning what it may, the Reader will observe, as usual, that I am not advancing the above Proposition, as my own; but simply QUOTING the Words of Another.

(q) “*Aloqui, quum προορισμὸς sit simpliciter PREFINITIO, et Deus presens agat omnino, nihil non ad suum usum acturus; atque ita ab aliis Rebus, quantum ad istum suum usum attinet, separat.*”

Nothing can be more plain and nervous, than the following Remarks of *Bucer*, respecting God's Obduration of Pharaoh. Whether the Remarks be, or be not, carried too far, is beyond my Province to enquire. "The
 "Apostle says, *Who may resist the WILL of God?* By the
 "Word *Will*, Paul gives us to understand, that God ac-
 "tually WILLETH those very Things, unto which Men
 "are hardened by Him. When Paul adds, *Who may re-*
 "sist? he, in fact, points out the *Necessity*, which they,
 "whom God hardens, are under, of doing those Things.
 "When God would harden Pharaoh, in order that he
 "might not obey the Commandment, it was the actual
 "WILL of God that Pharaoh should NOT obey. Yea,
 "God himself WROUGHT in Pharaoh to OPPOSE the
 "Commandment sent him. Pharaoh, therefore, DID
 "what God in reality WILLED him to do; yea, he did no
 "more than what God Himself had wrought in him: nor
 "was it in Pharaoh's POWER, to act OTHERWISE than
 "he did." Such was the Doctrine, taught by this able
 and courageous *Cambridge* Professor. Willing, however,
 to obviate any Exceptions, which those Persons might
 raise, who had not studied these deep Points so carefully

Y 4

and

Si in genere definire hanc Preshcriptionem velis, erit, Rei cujusque ad suum usum Deputatio, quâ Deus singula, antequam condiderit, ab æterno, ad certum aliquem Usum destinat. Hinc, et malorum quoque Prædestinatio est. Nam sicut et Hos ex nihilo fingit Deus, ita fingit ad certum Finem: sapienter enim facit omnia — — — Fecit Deus omnia propter semetipsum, etiam Impium ad Diem malum. Sed hanc Theologi non sustinent vocare, Prædestinationem; sed vocant, Reprobationem. — — — Nulli certe malo Deus non bene utitur: et NIHIL EST, QUOD NOS PECCAMUS, IN QUO NON SIT ALIQUOD BONUM OPUS DEI. — — — Scriptura non veretur dicere, Deum tradere quosdam Homines in reprobum sensum, et agere in Perniciem. Quid igitur indignum Deo, dicere, etiam STATUISSE ANTEA, ut illos in sensum reprobum traderet, et ageret in Perniciem?" BUCER. Enarr. Ep. ad Rom. p. 410. Edit. Basil. 1562.

and so extensively as he had been enabled to do; he, presently after, shelters both his Doctrine and Himself under the following Words, and the Correspondent Practice, of the great Apostle whom he had quoted before: “*Nay but,*”
 “*O Man! [who art thou that repliest against God?] St*”
 “*Paul does not accommodate, nor soften down, a single*”
 “*Syllable of what he had just asserted. The sacred Pen-*”
 “*man does not deny, that they, who are hardened by God,*”
 “*perish according to the WILL of God. The Apostle*”
 “*does not admit it to be even possible, that a Person,*”
 “*who is hardened from above, can perform what is good.*”
 “*Paul [instead of setting himself to answer our vain*”
 “*Reasonings on the Matter], contents himself with*”
 “*merely giving us a solemn Caution, not to sit in Judg-*”
 “*ment on the Decrees of God: assuring us, that we can-*”
 “*not arraign the Deity at our own Bar, without being*”
 “*guilty of the uttermost Boldness and Impiety (r).”—*”
 If *Bucer* was not a Calvinist, where shall we find one?

I cannot prevail on myself to defraud the Reader of a few more Citations, which I lately extracted from another most valuable Work of *Bucer*, entitled, *A continued Interpretation of the Four Gospels*. And I the rather subjoin them, as the Book itself is exceeding scarce, though I have been so happy as to meet with it in a neighboring Library.

“ They

(r) *Voluntati ejus quis resistat? Voluntatem cum dicit, notat, Deum ea velle, ad quæ Homines indurat. Cum addit, Quis resistat? indicat necessitatem faciendi ea, quæ fert Induratio. Cum Deus Pharaonem induraret, nè Jussui suo obtemperaret; voluit utique idem Jussui suo non obtemperare: imò, ut ei repugnaret, Ipse in eo effecit. Fecit itaque Pharaon, quod Deus volebat eum facere; imò, quod ipse faciebat in eo: nec potuit aliud. — Quinimo, O Homo! Apostolus nihil mitigat dictorum. Non negat, Dei voluntate perire, quos indurat Deus. Non facit possessione Homini, ut beneficiat induratus. Sed deterret tantum et depellit ab eo, ut Judicia Domini judicemus: ostendens, hoc esse extremæ Impudentiæ et Impietatis.”* *BUCER. Ibid. p. 456.*

“ They, who are at any Time able to fall quite away
 “ from Christ, did never really belong to Him. Conse-
 “ quently, they never truly believed, nor were indeed
 “ pious, nor had the Holy Spirit of Adoption : on the
 “ contrary, all their Performances were nothing but Hy-
 “ pocrisy, how sanctified and ready soever unto good
 “ Works they, for a Time, pretended to be. They, whom
 “ Christ loves, are loved by Him even unto the End :
 “ and he doth not cast away those whom the Father giv-
 “ eth Him ; neither can any snatch them from His Hand.
 “ Therefore, admitting that These may fall, yet they
 “ cannot fall utterly ; for they are Elect unto Life : and
 “ God’s Election cannot be made void by any Creature
 “ whatever. Seeing, then, that *the Purpose of God, ac-*
 “ *cording to Election, may stand, not of Works, but of Him*
 “ *that calleth* [Rom. ix. 11] ; He not only elected His
 “ own People, *before they were born*, and had *done either*
 “ *Good or Evil* [Rom. ix. 11.], but even *before the very*
 “ *Foundations of the World* [Eph. i. 4.]. Hence, our Lord
 “ said, concerning His Apostles, *I pray not for the World,*
 “ *but for them whom Thou hast given me ; for They are*
 “ *Thine* : that is, they were chosen by Thee unto Life.
 “ As, therefore, on one Hand, Christ *never knew* [i. e.
 “ *never loved*] the Reprobate, whatever deceitful Ap-
 “ pearance of Virtue they might have ; so, on the other,
 “ He *always knew* [i. e. *always loved*] the Elect, how
 “ ungodly soever they might seem for a Time. Conse-
 “ quently, as *Those* [i. e. the Elect] are predestinated and
 “ called, they shall, sooner or later, be formed anew,
 “ according to the Likeness of Christ : while *Those* [i. e.
 “ the Reprobate] shall be stripped of that artificial Mask,
 “ under which they passed for Children of God ; and be
 “ made to appear in their own proper Colors (s).”

On

(s) “ Clarè docemur, qui aliquandò à Christo possunt excidere,
 eos Christi nunquam fuisse : eòque nunquam verè credidisse, aut
 fuisse

On those Words of Christ, *ye believe not, because ye are not of my Sheep* ; BUCER thus remarks : “ They were not “ of our Lord’s Sheep, i. e. they were not in the Number “ of Those who were given to Him by the Father ; they “ were not elected unto Life. Therefore it was, that they “ were totally destitute of God’s Good Spirit, and were “ utterly immersed in Flesh : neither were they able to “ believe in our Lord, nor to embrace Him as a “ Savior (*t*).”

A little farther on, we find this admirable Commentator observing as follows : “ *My Sheep hear my Voice, &c.* “ In these Words, our Lord expressly teaches, that all “ good

fuisse pios, nunquam Spiritûs Filiorum fuisse nactos : sed omnia illorum nil nisi Hypocrisim esse, quantumlibet sancti, et Pietate præstabiles, ad Tempus, sese fingant. Quos enim Christus diligit, *in Finem usque* diligit : et quos Pater Illi dat, neque Ipse abjicit ; neque rapere de Manu ejus quisquam potest. Ideò etsi *cadant* hujusmodi, *excidunt* tamen nunquam. Electi enim sunt ad vitam : quam Dei Electionem nulla potest Creatura reddere irritam. Siquidem *ut secundum Electionem Propositum Dei maneat, non ex Operibus, sed ex Vocante* ; non solùm elegit suos, priusquàm nati sint, ac *boni* aut mali quicquam fecerint ; sed *antequàm jacerentur Fundamenta Orbis à Constitutione Mundi*. Unde et de Apostolis Dominus dicebat. *Non pro Mundo rogo, sed pro iis rogo, quos dedisti mihi ; quia Tui sunt* : id est, electi abs Te ad Vitam. Proinde, ut Christo *nunquam noti* sunt Reprobi ; ità, nunquam ignoti Electi : quantunvis, in illis, Pietatis species aliqua adblandiatur ; et, in his, invisa Impietatis sæpe Forma conspiciatur. Eòque, et hi, sicut prædestinati et vocati sunt, sic tandem ad Imaginem Christi reformabuntur : et illi, detractâ Personâ Filiorum Dei factitiâ, sui similes apparebunt, juxta hoc quod à se audituros hîc testatur [Christus].” BUCER. in *Matth.* vii. 22. — Apud ejus *In sacr. quatuor Evang. Enarrat. Perpet.* Pag. 76. b. — Edit. Rob. Steph. 1553.

(*t*) “ Non erant *ex Ovibus Domini* ; hoc est, donatis Christo à Patre : non erant ex Electis ad Vitam. Ideò omni Spiritu Dei bono carebant : Animales toti. Neque potuerant Domino credere, aut ut Servatorem ipsum amplecti.” BUCER. *Ibid.* in *Joh.* x. 25.

“ good Things are dependent on God’s Election : and
 “ that They, to whom it is ONCE given to be Sheep, can
 “ NEVER perish afterwards. Christ here tells us, that
 “ they alone *hear his Voice* : that is, they, who are indeed
 “ his *Sheep*, are made Partakers of *Faith*. Now, whence
 “ is it, that SOME People are Christ’s Sheep, or suscep-
 “ tible of His Doctrine ; while OTHERS are not ? Un-
 “ doubtedly, because the Former are inspired by the good
 “ Spirit of God, whereas the Latter are not inspired at all.
 “ — But whence is it, that the Former are indued with
 “ the Holy Spirit, and not the Latter ? For this Reason :
 “ because the Former were GIVEN to Christ, to be saved
 “ by Him ; but the Latter were NOT given Him. Let
 “ us therefore allow God the Honor of being the Bestow-
 “ er of his own Spirit, without supposing Him to need or
 “ receive any of our Assistance.—Christ adds, *And I know*
 “ *them* : i. e. they are committed to my Trust ; I have
 “ them in special Charge. And, doubtless, from hence
 “ it is, that His Sheep *follow* Him, and live the Life
 “ which never ends. The Father gave them to Him,
 “ that He might endue them with Life eternal : and they
 “ can no more be *plucked from* Christ’s Hand, than from
 “ the Hand of the Father, who is mightier and *greater*
 “ *than All*. Christ and the Father are *One* : their Power
 “ and Strength are the same. Consequently, as none
 “ can pluck the ELECT from the Father’s Hand, so nei-
 “ ther from the Hand of Christ. — — We are to observe
 “ moreover, that it flows ONLY from God’s ELECTION,
 “ that we are the *Sheep* of Christ and *follow* Him. We
 “ must observe, too, that SUCH CAN NEVER ENTIRELY
 “ FALL AWAY. For, the Father and the Son being un-
 “ divided, their *Hand*, that is, their *Power*, must be un-
 “ divided also : and, out of their Hand, none shall ever
 “ snatch Those whom that Hand has ONCE laid hold on
 “ for Salvation. Now, unto whomsoever it shall be
 “ GIVEN to *hear* the Voice of Christ, and to *follow* Him ;
 “ they may be said to be thus laid hold on [by the Hand,

“ or Power, of Divine Grace] : seeing, NONE BUT THE
 “ SHEEP are ABLE to hear and follow the Redeemer.
 “ And, if they are Sheep now, they are so held in the
 “ Hand of Christ and of the Father, as never to perish,
 “ but to have eternal Life (u).”

Bucer was also a Calvinist, on the Article of *limited Redemption*. He was too well acquainted with the Scriptures, and too accurate a Reasoner, as well as entertained too exalted an Idea of the Dignity of Christ's Sacrifice, to imagine, that the Messiah died, at sixes and sevens, for any Body and every Body, but effectually for no-body. The
 Learned

(u) “ *Oves mæ Vocem, &c.* In his appertè docet [Christus], omnia à Divinâ Electione pendere ; eosque, quibus semel datum fuerit *Oves* esse, perire nunquam posse. Hîc nanque audimus, eos tantùm Vocem Christi audire, id est, Fidem recipere, qui *Oves* sunt. Jam unde erit, ut alii, *Oves*, hoc est, capaces Doctrinæ Christi sunt, alii minimè ? Indubiè, quòd illi bono Spiritu Dei afflati sunt ; hi nequaquam. — Unde autem erit, ut illi Spiritu donentur, hi secùs ? Quòd illi Filio salvandi donati sunt ; hi nequaquam. Domino ergò demus hanc Gloriam, ut Ipse Spiritum det, nihil nostrâ Operâ adjutus. — — Dominus subjicit, *Et cognosco illas* ; h. e. Curæ mihi sunt : et hinc certè est, ut Ipsi illas Pater dedit, ut eis suppeditet Vitam æternam : tam igitur non poterunt è manu Ejus, quàm è Patris manu, qui major et potentior omnibus est, eripi. Unum siquidem sunt Ipse et Pater : eadem est utriusque Virtus et Potentia. Germanicè, *es ist ein ding der Vatter un der Sun*. Quarè, ut de Manu Patris nemo potest Electos rapere, idè neque de Manu Christi. — — Iterùm observandum, à solâ Dei Electione esse, ut *Oves* simus, et Christum sequamur : tùm, tales excidere nunquam posse. Quia unum sunt Pater et Filius, eandem Manum habent, id est, Potentiam : de quâ, nemo unquam rapiet eos, quos illa semel apprehenderit salvandos. Apprehensi autem sunt, quibuscunque datum fuerit Christi Vocem audire et sequi. Id siquidem nulli possunt, nisi *Oves* sint. Si jam *Oves*, in Manu Christi et Patris sunt, ut nunquam pereant, sed habeant vitam æternam.” *BUCER. ENARR. in Joann. Cap. 10. V. 27. p. 277. b.*

Learned Reformer's Sentiments on this Subject, appear, among other Passages, from his pious and judicious Paraphrase on our Lord's Answer to *Peter* (Matth. xvi. 23.) which was, says *Bucer*, as if Christ had said, "If I am the
" Messiah, I MUST, according to the Scriptures, be SLAIN
" for the ELECT. If I am the Son of God, why should
" I not obey my Father, whose Will it is, that I should
" be a Victim and a Sacrifice for the Sins of ALL THOSE
" whom He hath ORDAINED unto Life (x)?"

I shall only add, concerning this great Man, that he died at *Cambridge*, A. D. 1551. of which melancholy Event, good King *Edward VI.* made the following Entry in his Journal: "Feb. 28. *The Learned Man BUCERUS*
" died at Cambridge: who was, two Days after, Buried in
" St Mary's Church, at Cambridge; all the whole Univer-
" sity, with the whole Town, bringing Him to his Grave, to
" the Number of 3000 Persons. Also there was an Oration
" of Mr Haddon, made very eloquently, at his Death; and
" a Sermon of [Dr Parker]: after that, Master Redman
" made a Third Sermon. Which three Sermons made the
" People wonderfully to lament his Death. Last of all, All
" the Learned Men of the University made their Epitaphs in
" his Praise, laying them on his Grave (y)."

Bucer's Death was occasioned by a Complication of Disorders: particularly, the Cholic, and the Stone: *Intestinorum Dolor* (says *Melch. Ad.* p. 220.), *Calculus, Fastidium Ciborum, Alvi Siccitas, Catarrhi copiosi Capitis.* During his whole Illness, that Illustrious Mother in Israel, *Catharine Brandon*, Duchess Dowager of *Suffolk*, attended him, watched with him, and deigned to undergo the Of-
fices

(x) "Si Christus sum, occidi pro Electis debeo, juxta scripturas. Si Filius Dei, cur non gererem Morem Patri, qui vult Me Hostiam pro Peccatis esse omnium quos Ille ad Vitam ordinavit?"
BUCER. ENARR. in Matth. xvi. p. 136. b.

(y) See *King Edward's Journal of his own Reign*, p. 20. Annexed to *Burnet's Hist. Ref.* Vol. 2.

sices and Fatigues of a Nurse: in Hopes, that Providence might make Her the Instrument of saving so valuable a Life; or, at least, that her generous Affiduity might conduce to soften the last Agonies of her beloved Friend and Pastor (z). This was the same Lady, who, in the succeeding Reign of *Mary*, to avoid the Resentment of the Papists, was obliged to follow her second Husband, Mr *Richard Bertie*, into voluntary Banishment; where they suffered such Hardships, and ran such Dangers, as cannot be read without the strongest Feelings of sympathetic Distress. On the Accession of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Religious and Noble Exiles returned to England; where, many Years after, they finished their Course, in Wealth, Honor, and Felicity (a).

Some short Time before *Bucer's* Decease, Mr *John Bradford* (the celebrated Martyr) coming to see him, with Tears, said, "I am going to preach, and will not fail to remember you in my Prayers with the Congregation." *Bucer* devoutly answered, weeping, "Cast me not away, O Lord, in my Time of old Age, when my strength faileth me!" Immediately on pronouncing which Words, he seems to have received a fresh and powerful Manifestation of the Divine Presence: for he added, *Castiget fortiter, abjiciet autem nunquam; nunquam abjiciet*: "God may chasten me greatly, but He'll NEVER cast me away; no, He'll NEVER cast me away." Somebody advising him to arm himself against the Assaults of Satan; He replied, *I have nothing to do with Satan: I am only in Christ. I should be sorry indeed, if I did not now experience the sweetest Consolations.* Among his last Words (they seem to have been the very last) were, with his Eyes cheerfully thrown up toward Heaven, *Ille, Ille regit, & moderatur omnia!* i. e. "HE, HE reigns, and governs all!" Thus comfortably

(z) *Semper ægrotanti adsedit, et omnia Humanitatis Officia præstitit. Melch. Adam. p. 221.*

(a) See *Collins's Peerage*, Vol. II. p. 53, 54. — Edit. 1768.

comfortably did this blessed Saint of God expire, in the 61st Year of his Age.

Paul Fagius, who accompanied him to this Kingdom, and was fixed at *Cambridge*, in Quality of Hebrew Professor; died there, the November preceding: and the famous *Tremellius*, an *Italian* Protestant, of great Piety and Learning, and as rooted a Calvinist as *Fagius* himself, succeeded to the Hebrew Chair; and was, afterwards, made Prebend of *Carlisle* (b). On the Death of King *Edward*, *Tremellius* retired into *Germany*: and, after several Removes, died at *Sedan*, in *France*, A. D. 1580.

In the Reign of Queen *Mary*, the Bones of *Bucer* and *Fagius* were dug out of their Graves, and publicly burned, together with as many of their Writings as could be collected.

VI. *Peter Martyr*, another Reformer and Luminary of the Church of England, was born at *Florence*, A. D. 1500. "His Family Name was *Vermilius*: but his Parents gave him that of *Martyr*, from one *Peter*, a *Martyr*, whose Church happened to stand near their House (c)." Providence had given him a vast Capacity: and his acquired Learning was prodigious. The Writings of *Bucer* and *Zuinglius* were the first Means of bringing him to the Knowledge of the Truth.

For some Time after his Conversion, *Martyr* seemed to follow those Words of St Paul too literally, *Hast thou Faith? have it to thyself before God*, (Rom. xiv. 22.) But Providence would not suffer such a burning and shining Light to be always under a Bushel. By Degrees, God gave him more and more Boldness; and, at length, called him forth, in the Fulness of the Blessings of the Gospel of *Christ*. He preached Salvation by Grace, with the Demonstration of the Spirit, and with Power. Many were converted under his Ministry; some of whom proved eminently

(b) See *Strype's Eccl. Mem.* Vol. II. p. 387.

(c) *Biogr. Dict.* Vol. VIII. p. 263.

nently useful in the Church of God : particularly those two illustrious Divines, *Zanchius* and *Tremellius*.

Martyr's Courage and Success soon made his native Country, *Italy*, too hot to hold him. *Switzerland* and *Germany* afforded him safe Retreat : till, in the latter End of the (d) Year 1547, he was invited to *England*, to help forward the good Work of Reformation then beginning in this Kingdom. *Melchior Adam*, a Writer of great Accuracy and Fidelity, observes, That, “ On the Death of
“ *Henry VIII.* the Young King *Edward* was resolved to
“ abolish Popery, and to reduce the *English* Church to
“ the Standard of God’s Word, under the Auspices of
“ his Uncle, the Duke of *Somerset*, and of *Cranmer*,
“ Archbishop of *Canterbury*. And, since the Universities
“ may be considered as the Nurseries, in which the Clergy
“ of the rising Generation are trained up for the Ministry ;
“ it seemed a Point of the first Importance, to reform
“ those Nurseries : that, from them, as from a pure
“ Fountain, the Streams of sound Doctrine might water
“ every Corner of the Nation. Now, *Peter Martyr* be-
“ ing, in the Judgment of the most Learned Men, a
“ Person of singular Erudition, and of such general
“ Knowledge as almost seemed incredible ; he was thought
“ the properest Divine on Earth, to preside in the Divi-
“ nity Chair at *Oxford*. He was accordingly, with the
“ King’s Concurrence, invited to England, by the Arch-
“ bishop (e).” — The Specimens, which I shall shortly produce, of the Doctrines, with which Dr *Martyr* seasoned the Minds of the Students that were designed for the established Ministry, will demonstrate, that he was indeed one of the “ *properest Divines on Earth*,” to be intrusted with that important Charge. Would to God, that all his Successors, in the said Chair, had been as “ *proper*,” for the Task, as himself.

But

(d) *Melch. Adam*. Vit. Theolog. exter. p. 46.

(e) *Melch. Adam*. u. f. p. 40.

But there was also another Reason, that induced *Cranmer* to wish for *Martyr's* Settlement in England; and which, in Concert with the Cause already assigned, lay at the Bottom of the Invitation. Even old *Anthony Wood* doth not scruple to declare, in express Terms, that “In 1547, he “ [viz. *Peter Martyr*] was invited into *England*, by *Edward* “ [Duke of *Somerſet* and] Lord Protector, and Dr. *Cranmer*, “ Archbishop of *Canterbury*; TO THE END THAT HIS “ ASSISTANCE MIGHT BE USED TO CARRY ON A RE- “ FORMATION IN THE CHURCH (f).” In *Assisting* to carry on which Reformation of our *Church*, as also in the Care and Zeal with which he instructed the Oxford Students in our Church-Doctrines; he acquitted himself so much to the Satisfaction of the King and the rest of the Reformers here, that he was made a Canon of *Christ-Church*, and a Prebendary of *Canterbury*. Nay, so much was he admired and revered by Queen *Elizabeth* herself, that, after she ascended the Throne, “ she invited him to “ return into *England*, and there to accept of what Prefer- “ ment he pleased (g):” but, it seems, he “ modestly “ refused” the Offer; being fearful, lest Popery might get the Ascendency in this Kingdom again: in which Case, he might run the Risque of being a *Martyr* in Reality, as well as Name. He therefore continued at *Zurich*; where he died in Peace, A. D. 1562.—So much for the good Man himself. Now for his Calvinism.

(1.) “If”, says he, “by FATE, he meant, a certain “ Power resulting from the Stars, and an irresistible Impli- “ cation of Causes, by which God Himself is reduced within “ the Bounds of Restraint; we justly reject the Word Fate, “ in this Signification of it. But if, by FATE, you “ mean a TRAIN OF CAUSES governed by the WILL OF “ GOD; such a Fate, as this, can by no Means seem
Z “ injurious

(f) *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 106.—Edit. 1691.

(g) *Wood*, u. s. col. 107.

“injurious to true Religion, however expedient we may
 “think it to abstain from using the Word (*b*).”

He very justly observes, that the wiser *Stoics* themselves asserted *Fate*, in the Christian Sense of the Term.
 “There are some, who dream of an Iron or Adamantin
 “Fatality, impressed on the Stars and Natural Causes,
 “unalterable by God Himself. This is erroneous; nay,
 “’tis impious: ’tis even contrary to the Judgement of
 “the ancient Sages themselves; for they plainly declare,
 “that, by *Fate*, they mean no more than the *Will* and
 “*Providence* of the SUPREME BEING. Witness those
 “Verses of *Cleanthes* the Stoic:

Father, and King of Heav’n, my Footsteps guide!
 My Wish with thy Decree shall co-incide.
 Too feeble for Denial or Delay,
 I follow where Thy Purpose marks my Way.
 Were I reluctant, still the Chain proceeds;
 Fate drags th’ Unwilling, and the Willing leads.
 Resign’d I stand, to suffer and to do
 What must be borne and done, resign’d or no.

“Now” (continues *Peter Martyr*), “Tho’ Fate is
 “strongly asserted, in these Lines; still, the Reins and
 “Government of Fate are placed in the Hand of God:
 “For the Philosopher invokes the Supreme Father, and
 “supplicates the Guidance of HIM, whose Will is af-
 “firmed to be certain and infallible (*i*).”

Nothing

(*b*) “Si per FATUM intelligant, *Vim quandam manantem ex Astris, & Connexionem Causarum inexpugnabilem quâ etiam Ipse Deus cogatur in ordinem*; Nomen Fati non injuriâ repudiabimus. At si eo Nomine intelligant, *Ordinem Causarum, qui Dei Voluntate gubernetur*; ea Res videri non potest à Pietate aliena: quamvis ab eo Nomine judicem abstinendum, &c.”

Pet. Mart. Loc. Com. p. 314 —Edit. 1626.

(*i*) “Sunt enim qui somniant Fatalem quandam necessitatem ferream, vel adamantinam, Sideribus & Causis naturalibus affixam, quam nec Deus immutare possit. Quod est erroneum, impium,

Nothing can be more judicious, than *Martyr's* Reasoning, relative to the true Meaning of that blameless Fate, which was so wisely and so solidly asserted by the best Philosophers of the Portico. And our Reformer's Vindication of that Doctrine, as settled and ascertained in the Golden Verses which he quotes; is a very conclusive Proof of his own Candor, good Sense, and Regard to Truth. I wish I could have done Justice to those admirable Lines, by translating them better: but, even as I have render'd them, the Maxims which they convey, and the implicit Submission to Providence, which they inculcate, most certainly breathe the very Language of Christianity. They express what *Milton* so finely sings, in those majestic Words, which he supposes to be spoken by God the Father:

Necessity and Chance
Approach not ME; and what I WILL is FATE (k).

The Verses of *Cleanthes* are cited, by *Peter Martyr*, as they stand in *Seneca's* Translation of them into Latin. *Seneca's* beautiful Lines, are, however, rather a Paraphrase,

Z 2

impium, et etiam à veteribus Sapientibus alienum: qui disertè ostendunt, se, per Fatum, intellexisse Voluntatem et Administrationem Divinam. Carmine *Cleanthis* Stoici, quæ de hac Rescripsit, *Seneca*, in Lib. 18. Epist. fecit Latina. Illa verò sunt hujusmodi:

Duc me, Parens, celsique Dominator Poli,
Quocunque placuit. Nulla parendi Mora est.
Adjum impiger. Fac nolle, comitabor gemens.
Ducunt volentem Fata; nolentem trabunt:
Malusque patiar, quod pati licuit bono.

Quamvis, his Carminibus, Fatum statuatur, ejus tamen Gubernatio in Manu Dei ponitur; nam invocat Summum Patrem, ab Eoque duci cupit: cujus tamen Voluntatem simulque certam fore, ac infallibilem, demonstrat." MARTYR. Ibid. p. 331.

(k) *Parad. Lost*, B. VII. 172.

phrase, than a Version. *Cleanthes's* Prayer ran thus, as cited by *Epicætetus* (1):

Ἀγε δὴ με, ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ σὺ, ἡ Πεπρωμένη,
 Ὅποι ποθ' ὑμῖν εἰμι διατεταγμένῳ,
 Ὡς ἐφομαι σωθαιῶ ἡδὲ ἀρκύνῳ.
 Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐθέλω, οὐκ ἦτιόν ἐφομαι.

Lead me, O Jove, and Thou, O Fate,
 Where'er Your Pleasure has ordain'd :
 I wish, with Cheerfulness to meet
 What no Reluctance can withstand.

By *Jove*, is meant the God and Father of All. By *Fate*, not a Power independent on HIM, or a separate Deity in Joint-Commission with Him; but His own superintending Providence.—When I consider such exalted Sentiments, as these; Sentiments, so directly tending to give unto God *the Honor due to His Name*, and so completely calculated for the general Happiness of Man; I cease to wonder at those Tributes of high, but just, Encomium on the Ancient *Stoics*, which have fallen from the Pens even of some learned *Arminians* themselves. Dr *Cave* informs us, that, “Of all the Sects of Philosophy, Saint *Pantænus* principally applied himself to the *Stoics*, with
 “ whose NOTIONS and RULES of Life he was most enamour'd. And NO WONDER”, says the Learned Doctor; “seeing, as St. *Jerom* observes, THEIR Doctrines [i. e. the Doctrines of the *Stoics*], in many
 “ Things, come NEAREST to the Doctrines of CHRISTIANITY. As indeed they do: especially as to the (m)
 Moral

(1) *Enchir.* Cap. 77. p. 92 —Edit. *Berkel.*

(m) Here let me ask a very natural and reasonable Question. If the *Stoics*, who believed an *absolute, over-powering FATE* in all Things, were, nevertheless, the most *virtuous* and *exemplary* in their Morals, of all the Heathen Philosophers; with what Decency can it be insinuated by *Arminianism*, that the *Christian Doctrine*
 of

“ *Moral and Practic Part of their Principles. They*
 “ held, that nothing was good, but what was just and
 “ pious ; nothing evil, but what was vicious and dis-
 “ honest : That a bad Man could never be happy, nor
 “ a good Man miserable : That the Deity was perpetually
 “ concerned for Human Affairs ; and that there was
 “ a wise and powerful Providence, which particularly
 “ super-intended the Happiness of Mankind : That,
 “ therefore, this God was, above all Things, to be ad-
 “ mired, adored, and worshiped, prayed to, acknowledged,
 “ obeyed, praised ; and that it is the most comely and
 “ reasonable Thing in the World, that we should univer-
 “ sally submit to His Will, and *ασπαζεσθαι ἐξ ὅλης τῆς*
 “ *ψυχῆς τὰ συμβαινόντα πάντα, cheerfully embrace, with all*
 “ *our Souls, ALL the Issues and Determinations of His Pro-*
 “ *vidence :* That we ought not to think it enough to be
 “ happy alone, but that ’tis our Duty *ἀπο καρδίας φιλεῖν, to*
 “ *love Men from our very Heart ;* to relieve and help them,
 “ advise and assist them, and contribute what was in our
 “ Power to their Health and Safety ; and this, not once,
 “ or twice, but throughout our whole Life ; and that
 “ unbiassedly, without any little Designs of Applause or
 “ Advantage to ourselves : That nothing should be equally
 “ dear to a Man, as Honesty and Virtue ; and that
 “ This is the first Thing he should look at, Whether
 “ the Thing he is going about be good, or bad, and the
 “ Part of a good or a wicked Man ; and, if excellent and
 “ virtuous, that he ought not to let any loss or Damage,
 “ Torment, or Death itself, deter him from it. Whoever
 “ runs over the Writings of *Seneca, Antoninus, Epictetus,*
 “ *Arrian, &c.* will find these, and a great many more,
 “ claiming a VERY NEAR KINDRED with the main
 “ Rules of Life prescribed in the CHRISTIAN FAITH.
 “ And what Wonder, if Saint *Pantænus* [or, indeed,

of PRÆDESTINATION has any Degree of Tendency to practical Ungodliness ?

“ every other Saint] was in love with such generous and
 “ manly Principles? which he liked so well, that as he
 “ [viz. Saint *Pantæus*] always retained the Title of
 “ *The Stoic Philosopher*, so, FOR THE MAIN, HE OWNED
 “ THE PROFESSION OF THAT SECT, even after his
 “ being admitted to EMINENT OFFICES AND EMPLOY-
 “ MENTS IN THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH (n).”

I must make two short Remarks on this observable Quotation. I. We see, that, in the Judgement of St. *Jerom*, St. *Pantæus*, and Dr *Cave* himself, the main Branches of the *Stoical* Theology and Ethics were supposed to come VERY NEAR the Theology and Ethics of *Christianity*: yea, that there was “a very near KINDRED” between them. So different was the Idea, which those eminent Persons entertained, concerning *Stoicism*; from the illiterate and ungenerous Prejudices, which breed in the Bosoms of some puny, piddling Sciolists among the *Arminians*, against that ancient and respectable Philosophy. — 2. May not the Lives and Morals of the *Stoical Fatalists* put the Generality of *Free-willers* to the Blush?

One Testimonial more, and that from a very capable Hand, shall finish this Digression. “I cannot but think”, says the learned and celebrated Mr. *Ditton*, “that the
 “ Doctrines of that Sect [meaning, the *Stoics*] have been
 “ much misrepresented.—And the Truth of it is, that
 “ there is, generally speaking, a NEARER APPROACH
 “ TO CHRISTIANITY, in the *Morals, Discipline*, and
 “ *Doctrines* of that NOBLE SECT, than in Those of any
 “ other Sect whatsoever (o).”

But I willingly return, from even the Excellencies of Paganism, to the School of CHRIST. Let us now listen to those precious, satisfying Truths of the Gospel, which do indeed render the Soul *wise unto Salvation*, and, be-
 yond

(n) *Cave's Apostolici*, p. 187.

(o) DITTON *on the Resurrection of Christ*; Append. p. 424.—Edit. 1727.

yond all the exterior Disquisitions in the World, *make glad the City of God.*

Peter Martyr, the Thread of whose Testimony I now resume, shall set before us some of those precious Truths, pure and genuine as he drew them from the Oracles of Scripture.—We have heard his Judgement, concerning *Fate* : let us,

(2.) Attend to him on the Subject of PRÆDESTINATION.

“ Forasmuch as God worketh ALL Things by his
 “ DETERMINATE PURPOSE, and doth nothing by *chance*,
 “ or *accidentally*; it is a most indubitable Axiom, that
 “ whatsoever He creates and makes, is DESTINED by
 “ Him to some certain *End* and *Use*. Consequently,
 “ neither *ungodly Men*, nor *Satan* himself, nor even *Sins*
 “ themselves, can be exempted from Prædestination:
 “ for, of all These, God makes what *Use* He pleases.
 “ Hence, those of the Unrighteous, who are devoted to
 “ final Condemnation, are styled by St. Paul, *σκευη*,
 “ or *Vessels*, i. e. GOD’S VESSELS: Vessels, in whom
 “ God makes known his Wrath.—Thus it is said,
 “ respecting Pharaoh, *To this very End have I raised thee*
 “ *up, that in thee I might display my Power.* Take the
 “ Word PRÆDESTINATION in this extensive Sense, and
 “ it reaches to ALL THINGS: it will import no other,
 “ than God’s ETERNAL APPOINTMENT of his Creatures
 “ to their respective *Use* (p).”

(3.) “ We

(p) “ Quoniam autem Deus omnia destinato Consilio facit, nihil casu, aut fortuito; procul dubio, quicquid creat et facit, aliquem ad Finem & Usus destinat. Hâc Ratione, nec Impii, nec Diabolus ipse, neque Peccata, excludi possunt à Prædestinatione: omnibus enim iis Rebus Deus utitur, quomodo voluerit. Itaque Paulus impios Homines, devotos ad extremam Damnationem, appellavit *σκευη*, hoc est, *Vasa Dei*, quibus Iram patefacit.—Et de Pharaone dicitur, *In hoc ipsum excitavi te, ut ostenderem in te Potentiam meam.* Imò, si ità accipiatur Prædestinationis, ratio,

(3.) "We may distinguish between the KNOWLEDGE and the FORE-KNOWLEDGE, of God. His *Knowledge* extends not only to every Thing past, present, and future; but even to what shall never come to pass: neither Possibles, nor Impossibles, are unknown to Him. But His *Foreknowledge* is conversant with those Things only, which are certainly Future. God's WILL is the Foundation of His *Præscience*: for nothing could be future, if God did not *will* its Futurition. Whatever He does not *will* should come to pass, He takes care to *hinder* FROM coming to pass. God, therefore, *fore-knows* a Thing, because it was His *Will* and Pleasure, that the Thing should exist and take Place (*q*)."

(4.) "PROVIDENCE is God's *will-ordered, fixed, and incessant Management of ALL Things whatever*.—When I say, that His Providence extends to *all* Things whatever, I advance no more than I am able to prove. And I prove it thus.

"God has a perfect *Knowledge* and Comprehension of every Thing: else His Wisdom would be defective. Now, the *Government* of this allwise Being is either *unlimited* as His Knowledge, or *partial* and *confined*. If His Government be *confined* and *limited*, such Limitation must arise, either from Want of *Will*, or from Want of *Power*. If from Want of *Power*, He would cease to

tinatio, erit Rebus omnibus communis. Neque aliud ista Vox significabit, quàm Dei, de Creaturis suis, æternam Dispositionem ad Usam aliquem suum."

MARTYR, u. s. p. 315.

(*q*) "Scire debemus, Notitiam Dei latius patere, quàm ejus Præscientiam. Nam *Notitia* porrigitur, non tantùm ad præsentia, præterita, & futura; sed etiam ad ea quæ nunquam futura sunt, sive possibilia ea sint, sive, ut loquuntur, impossibilia: *Præscientia* autem est, non nisi de illis quæ futura sunt. Et ideo Præscientia requirit *Voluntatem*, quæ præcedat: nihil enim futurum est, nisi Deus id esse velit: nam alioqui impediret. præscit ergò Deus ea, quæ vult esse futura." MART. Ibid. p. 316.

“ to be Almighty : if from want of *Will*, He would cease
 “ to be All-excellent. But, to deny the Infinity either of
 “ His *Knowledge*, *Power*, or *Excellence*, would be the
 “ same as to deny that He is God. It remains, there-
 “ fore, that the supreme Being super-intends *all Things* :
 “ and this the Scripture, in numberless Passages, most
 “ expressly declares. For it affirms, that the Over-sight
 “ of God reaches even to the *Leaves* of the Trees, to the
 “ *Hairs* of our Heads, and to the meanest *Birds* of the
 “ Air (*r*).”—The Sum of this Reasoning is, That to
 deny the absolute *Universality* of God’s incessant *Pro-*
vidence, is neither more nor less than plain, direct, pal-
 pable *Atheism*.

“ I term DIVINE PROVIDENCE”, says he, “ the *Ad-*
 “ *ministration* of ALL Things whatever ; because nothing
 “ can elude its Influence : nor, without It, could any
 “ Thing even continue to exist. I term it WELL-OR-
 “ DERED, because It is so conjoined with unerring
 “ Wisdom, as to præclude all possible Confusion and Em-
 “ barrassment. I term it FIXED, or IMMOVABLE ; be-
 “ cause the Knowledge of the Divine Administrator can-
 not

(*r*) “ Obiter sic definiri potest Providentia: est Dei ordinata,
 immobilis, & perpetua Universarum Rerum Administratio.”

MARTYR. Ibid. p. 316.

“ Quod diximus, Providentiam ad OMNIA pertinere ; id sic
 probari potest : Quia Deum nihil latet ; alioqui non esset sapien-
 tissimus. Quòd si omnia novit, vel ea regit omnia, vel multo-
 rum Curam abjicit. Si quarum Rerum Curam abjiciat, id id-
 circò facit, vel quia non potest, vel quia non vult, Curam earum
 gerere. Si non potest, non est potentissimus. Si nolit, non est
 optimus. Negare autem Deum sapientissimum, potentissimum,
 optimum esse, id est planè Eum negare esse Deum. Superest
 ergò, ut Deus omnibus Rebus provideat : quod Scripturæ in-
 finitis in Locis apertissimè testantur. Docent enim, Dei Curam
 extendi usque ad Arborum Folia, usque ad Capillos Capitis, usque
 ad Passeres.” MART. Ibid. u. f.

“ not be disappointed, nor His Power defeated : He is
 “ equally incapable of *Mistake*, and of *Dis-concertment*.
 “ Moreover, I termed His Providence PERPETUAL, or
 “ INCESSANT ; because He Himself is constantly and most
 “ intimately present with the Things which he has made.
 “ When he created them, He did not leave them to
 “ themselves ; but He is, Himself, within them, as their
 “ perpetual Principle of Motion : for *in him we live, and*
 “ *are moved, and do exist*. ACTS xvii. 28.—So much, re-
 “ specting PROVIDENCE : to which, and to its correlative
 “ Articles FATE is nearly allied. I have already ob-
 “ served, that, if you suppose the Word *Fate* to signify
 “ *such* an inevitable Necessity as results from the Influ-
 “ ence and Position of the *Stars* ; the Ancient Christians
 “ did, with very just Reason, abstain from the Use of the
 “ Word, in *that* Sense of it. But if it [i. e. if the Word
 “ *Fate*] mean no more than A SURE CONCATENATION
 “ OF SECOND CAUSES, which is not carry’d on, either
 “ with a blind Præcipitancy, or with an unmeaning Ac-
 “ cidentality ; but is regulated by the Providence of God,
 “ and may be vary’d according to the sovereign Pleasure
 “ of His Will ;—I can see no Reason, why the Thing
 “ called FATE should, in this View of it, be disrelished
 “ or rejected by any Man (s).”

(5) I

(s) “ Est hæc Administratio *universarum* Rerum. Nulla enim
 Res eam subterfugit, nec potest, absque eâ, durare. Dicitur
ordinata, quia Conjuncta est cum summâ Sapientiâ, ut nihil ad-
 mittat Confusionis. *Immobilis* est, quia Scientia hujus Administra-
 toris non fallitur, nec ejus Potentia frustratur. Est etiam *perpetua*,
 quoniam Deus ipse Rebus adest. Neque enim, cùm creasset Res
 eas sibi ipsis reliquit ; imò Ipse in illis est, easque perpetuò agit :
In Ipso enim vivimus, & movemur, & sumus. Tantum de *Pro-*
videntiâ. His Rebus *Fatum* etiam est affine. A quo, si acci-
 piatur, ut supra diximus, pro necessitate quâdam inevitabili quæ
 à VI ASTRORUM pendeat, Patres meritò abstinerunt. Sed si
 nihil aliud significat, quàm certam Connexionem Causarum se-
 cundarum

(5) I shall just touch on this Reformer's Doctrine concerning REPROBATION: requesting the Reader still to bear in Mind, that I am not, professedly, delivering my own Judgement, but simply setting before him the Judgement of *Peter Martyr*. According to Him, "*Reprobation may be defined, That most wise Determination of God, whereby He did, before all Eternity, immutably decree, not to have Mercy on Those, whom he loved not, but passed by: and this without any Injustice on His Part (t).*"

Martyr does not scruple to affirm, that "God WITH-HOLDS his Grace from [some] Men: which Grace being withheld, those Men CANNOT BUT fall." He even ventures to add, that, "Since we All live and move by Actuation from God, it is CERTAIN, that ALL the Deeds, which we perform, are, OF NECESSITY, some Way or other, wrought under a DIVINE IMPULSE." Yet, tho' he expresses himself with such Strength and Plainness, he will not admit that this Doctrine makes God the Author of Sin: "There is no Need," says he, "for God to infuse additional Evil into our Hearts. There is enough there already. We have it sufficiently, of ourselves: partly, thro' the Foulness of Original Sin; and, partly, because a created Being doth, of himself, degenerate, without Measure and without End, unless he is succoured by God (u)."—From hence, we may easily anticipate his Opinion,

(6.) Con-

cundarum, quæ non feratur temerè aut fortuitò, sed DEI Providentiâ gubernatur, proque ejus Voluntate mutari possit; non video cur Res ipsa debeat à quoquam respui." MARTYR, *ut supr.*

(t) "*Sit igitur Reprobatio, sapientissimum Dei Propositum, quo, ante omnem Æternitatem, decrevit constantèr, absque ullâ Injustitiâ, eorum non miseri, quos non dilexit, sed præteriiit.*"

MARTYR. *Ibid.* p. 317.

(u) "*Deinde Deus est, qui Gratiâ suâ Hominibus subducit: quâ substractâ, necesse est ut illi labantur. Cùmque Illius*

(6.) Concerning FREE-WILL. “*Paul plainly saith, “ It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but “ of God that sheweth Mercy. Our Salvation is the Work “ of God, and not the Atchievement of our own Strength. “ For He it is, who worketh in us both to will and to accomplish. Before God thus worketh in us, He has to “ do [as it were] with STONES: for our Hearts are “ Hearts of Stone, till Christ transforms them into “ Hearts of Flesh (x).”*

“*They who are born again, ought never to forget, “ that they obtained this Freedom, not by their own “ Deserts, but by the Favor of God. It was owing, “ not to themselves, but to their Heavenly Father, that “ they were drawn to Christ. For, unless God the “ Father had inwardly won them over, by MAIN EFFICACY; they would have shunned and avoided Christ, “ even as others (y).”*

Luther,

Illius Agitatione omnes & vivamus & moveamur, omnia certè Opera, quæ facimus, necesse est, ut, quoquo Modo, Ejus impulsu fiant. Quanquam nihil opus est, ut ab Illo nobis infundatur nova Malitia. Eam enim, tùm propter Labem Originis, fatis abundè habemus ex nobis ipsis: tùm etiam, propterea quòd Creatura, si à Deo non juvetur, per seipsam in deterius vergit sine Modo & Fine”. MART. Ibid. p. 317.

(x) “ Paulus differtè ait, Non est volentis, neque currentis, sed miserentis Dei: Illius enim Opus est nostra Salus, non Virium nostrarum. Ipse enim est, qui operatur in nobis et velle & perficere. Antequàm id præstet, si quid nobiscum agat, aut Lege, aut Doctrinâ Verbi, cum Lapidibus agit. Corda enim nostra faxea sunt, nisi ea Christus transmutet in Carnea.”

MART. Ibid. p. 109.

(y) “ Qui ità renati sunt, nunquam debent oblivisci, se hanc Libertatem non suis Meritis adeptos esse, sed Beneficio Dei. Is enim eos refinxit, et, pro Corde lapideo, Cor carneum in illis posuit. Denique, non ex seipsis, sed ex Patre Cœlesti habuerunt, ut ad Christum traherentur. Nisi enim fuissent, à Deo Patre, magnâ Efficaciâ, intus in Animo persuasi; à Christo, non minùs quàm alii, refugissent.” MART. Ibid. p. 117.

Luther, in his Answer to *Erasmus*, had, after his blunt, but nervous Manner, compared the Human Will to an Horse: “If GRACE”, says he, “be in the Saddle, the Will moves to what is good; but Man’s Will, if rid by the Devil, is sure to rush headlong into Sin”. This Comparison, unceremonious as it is, was adopted and subscribed to by *Peter Martyr*; whose words are, “Christ hath said, ye shall then be free, when the Son makes you so: from whence it follows, that, so long as Men are *unregenerated*, they cannot, with Truth, be pronounced *Free*. Besides, the Tyranny of Satan is such, that he detains Men in *Captivity*, till they are rescued by Christ: for our Lord has declared, that the Strong Man armed keeps peaceable Possession of his Palace, and continues Master of the Spoils; till One, STRONGER than he, arrives, and dispossesses him by Force. Likewise, in the 2d Epistle to Timothy, the Apostle affirms, that such as oppose the Truth are kept Prisoners by Satan at his Will. And it is a well-known Illustration, that THE WILL OF MAN RESEMBLES AN HORSE, which sometimes has Grace for its Rider, and sometimes the Devil. Now, perhaps, it is set in Motion by the former: anon, it is whipp’d and spur’d by the latter. HUMAN LIBERTY, therefore, is cut short by MANIFOLD SLAVERY. And, seeing the Freedom of the Will is so exceeding small, during the present State of Things; it is wonderfull to me, that Men do not, with *Luther*, rather term the WILL a SLAVE and a BOND-WOMAN, than *Free*. If a Man was shut up in Prison, manacled and fettered; could he justly call himself *Free*, only because he were able to move his Head and lift up his Eyelids (z)?”—Thus much for *Free-will*.

(7.) Now

(z) “Christus quoque dixit, Si Filius nos liberaverit, tunc liberi estis. Unde sequitur, falso liberos esse Homines, quando nondum sunt renati. Ad hæc omnia, Diaboli Tyrannis accedit; qui

(7.) Now for JUSTIFICATION. So far was *Martyr* from supposing that Men are justified and accepted of God on account of their *Works*; that there is a Sense, in which he would not admit Justification even by *Faith* itself. And very justly. For, tho' the Grace and Principle of Faith are of God's Giving, and of God's Infusing; yet Faith, as *acted* and exercised by *us*, is attended with extreme Imperfection: and we cannot be *justified*, in the strict Meaning of the Term, by any Thing which is *defective*. Hence the following Remark of our judicious Reformer: " If Faith itself be considered as our Act, " 'tis impossible we should be justified by it: because " Faith, in this View of it, is lame and imperfect, and " falls far short of that completeness which the Law requires. But we are therefore said to be justified by " Faith, because it is by Faith that we lay hold upon, " and apply to Ourselves, the Promises of God and the " Righteousness and Merits of Christ. A Beggar (we'll " suppose) extends his foul and leprous Hand, to receive " an Alms from a Person that offers it: certainly it is " not from the Leprosy and Foulness of his own Hand, " that he derives any Benefit; but from the Donation
" given

qui Homines, antequam Christi sint, Captivos detinet. Christus enim dixit, *Fortem armatum custodire Atrium suum in Pace, & Spolia detinere captiva, quoad Fortior venerit, qui ea diripiat.* Et, in Epistolâ ad Timotheum 2, habetur, contradicentes Veritati; *detineri Captivos à Satanâ ad ejus Voluntatem.* Et fatis est vulgata Sententia, quæ ait, VOLUNTATEM instar EQUI esse, quæ modò habeat SESSOREM Spiritum Dei & Gratiam; modò verò Diabolum: & nunc ab eo agitari, nunc verò à Gratiâ regi. Est igitur Libertas ejus multiplici Servitute accissa: & mirum est, cùm tam parva sit ejus Libertas, in hoc præsertim Statu, eam potiùs appellari liberam, quàm servam. Hæc *Lutherus* considerans, Arbitrium potiùs dixit servum, quàm liberum. Si quis esset in Carcere, compedibus & manicis constrictus; an rectè diceret se liberum, quòd posset Caput movere, aut oculos attollere?"

“ given, and which he receives with such a Hand as he
 “ has (a).” This single Paragraph is so full to the Point,
 that it supersedes the Necessity of multiplying Quotations
 on the subject in Question. Let us hear Him,

(8.) On the Article of PERSEVERANCE.

“ If we consult the sacred Writings, we shall there
 “ find, not only, in general, that God is good and power-
 “ ful; but, likewise, that He is good and powerful for
 “ our particular Benefit” [i. e. for the particular Benefit
 of Us who truly believe]: “ and that, in Consequence
 “ of His Power and Goodness, He’ll so CONFIRM our
 “ WILL, that It shall NEVER entirely revolt from Him.
 “ For He will not suffer us to be tempted above what we are
 “ able to bear; but will, with the Temptation, make a Way
 “ for our Escape. He will establish you, even UNTO THE
 “ END, blameless to the Day of our Lord Jesus Christ.
 “ God is Faithful, by whom ye are called. Very nume-
 “ rous are the Scripture Attestations, which promise us
 “ PERSEVERANCE through Christ, and the ESTABLISH-
 “ MENT of our Wills [in Holiness] (b).”

So

(a) “ Quinetiam, si Fides ipsa, quâ nostrum Opus est, con-
 sideretur; eâ justificari non possumus: cùm opus sit et mancum
 et imperfectum, longè deterius quàm Lex requirat. Sed
 illâ justificari dicimur, quia Promissiones Dei, & Christi Justitiam
 Meritaque, per ipsam apprehendimus, & nobis applicamus. Fingas
 tibi mendici Hominis scdissimam & leprosam Manum, quâ capiat
 Eleemosynam ab offerente: certè, mendicus ille à Fœditate seu
 Leprà suæ Manus haudquaquam juvatur, sed Eleemosynâ, quam
 Manu qualicunque accipit.” MART. *Ibid.* p. 363.

(b) “ Equidem, si consulamus sacras Literas, non tantum
 intelligemus, Deum generalitèr bonum esse & potentem; sed etiam
 Eum nobis ipsis esse bonum et propitium [*menda, pro potentem*]:
 ideoque confirmaturum nostram Voluntatem, ne unquam ab Eo
 deficiat. Nam, ut paulò ante commemoravimus, *Non patietur*
nos tentari supra id quod possimus sustinere; sed faciet, cum Tentatione,
Exitum. Et, 1 ad Cor. cap. 1. Confirmabit vos, usque ad

Finem,

So much shall suffice, at present, for *Peter Martyr's* Judgement concerning the Points in Contest.

And let it be further observed, that this excellent Divine appears to have some Hand in drawing up the *Articles of Religion*, adopted by the Church of England. *Heylyn* himself confesses as much: tho' he labors, as usual, to mince and qualify the Concession, by every diminishing Quirk, in his Power to apply. I can compare him to nothing, but to a Miser, who, forced, against the Grain, to pay a Sum of Money; counts its out, with grudging Reluctance, and draws it back, again and again, 'till obliged to part with it indeed. *Heylyn's* Words are these: " Though *Peter Martyr* lived to see the Death of King " *Edward*, and consequently the End of the Convocation, " *Anno 1552*, in which the *Articles of Religion* were first " composed and agreed on; yet there was LITTLE use " made of him in advising, and much LESS in directing " any Thing, which concerned that Business,——tho' " SOME Use might be made of him as a Laborer to ad- " vance the Work (c)."

There are Testimonies, of *Martyr's* Orthodoxy and Usefulness, still in Reserve; able, if need required, to enlarge these Gleanings into an Harvest. But I must not dismiss this great Reformer and Ornament of our Church, without observing, that He and *Bucer* were the principal Instruments of persuading Dr *Hooper* into a Compliance (as far as he did comply) with King *Edward's* Reformation, respecting some Matters of exterior Ceremony: which (however indifferent those Matters were in their own Nature) became important, because adopted by the Church and enforced by the State.

Few.

Finem, inculpatos in Diem Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Fidelis enim Deus, per quem vocati estis. Sunt præterea alia permulta Testimonia in sacris Literis, quæ nobis pollicentur & Perseverantiam, & Confirmationem Voluntatis, per Christum."

MARTYR. *Ibid.* p. 357.

(c) *Heylyn's Miscell. Tracts*, p. 587.

Few Readers need to be informed, that, when *Hooper* was nominated to the See of *Gloucester*, he entertained some unhappy Scruples, more nice than necessary, concerning the Form of the Episcopal Habit. He supposed, that the Robes, in which a Bishop was expected to appear, favored more of Superstition and popish Pomp, than comported with the scriptural Simplicity of Protestantism. Amazing, that a Person of *Hooper's* Learning, Piety, and exalted Sense, could look for Popery, in the Fold of a Garment; and extract Superstition, out of an angular Cap! Groundless, however, and ill-timed, as his Scruples were; they had such Weight with himself, that he refused to be consecrated after the usual *Mode*, and even suffer'd himself to be imprison'd in the Fleet, for his Contempt of legal Authority. But I must also do him the Justice to add, that he lived long enough, to see the Weakness and Absurdity of opposing Things which the Law of God has left indifferent. The Severities of *Mary's* Reign taught the honest, but over-scrupulous Bishop, that Popery consisted in something more than a Robe, a Scarf, or a four-cornered Cap.

While *Hooper's* obstinacy continued, *Bucer* and *Martyr* took all imaginable Pains to solve his Objections, and, if possible, reduce him to Conformity. They gained on him so far, that he consented to wear the usual Habit on some principal Occasions. One of *Martyr's* Letters to him may be seen at full Length, in an Appendix to (d) that Edition of his *Common Places*, which has supply'd me with the preceding Extracts. It is written with such Modesty, Learning, Candor, and Force of Reason, as are a standing Honor to the Writer, and demonstrate that his Attachment to the Church of England extended to her *Rites*, as well as her Doctrines.

The Letter itself being very long, I shall only give the Substance of *Martyr's* Arguments, in Mr *Rolt's* judicious

A a

Abridge-

Abridgement of them. “He commended *Hooper*, for his
 “Pains in preaching; but advised him, not to exert his
 “Zeal on Points that are indefensible, or Things of little
 “Moment, lest the People should from thence be led to
 “call in Question the Judgement of the Reformed
 “Preachers, and give no Credit to what they delivered
 “on the most important Articles.—In Answer to one
 “Objection of *Hooper*’s, *That we ought to have an EX-*
 “*PRESS Warrant from SCRIPTURE for EVERY Thing*
 “*belonging to Religion*; *Martyr* told him, that, if the
 “general Rules of Order were observed, the Governors
 “of the Church had a *discretionary Latitude* in *little*
 “Matters. Thus, for Instance, our receiving the Com-
 “munion in a Church, in a Forenoon, not in a reclining
 “Posture, [nor] in a Congregation [consisting] of Men
 “only; stood upon no other than Ecclesiastical, that is,
 “upon *human Authority*: to which [nevertheless], he
 “presumed, *Hooper* had always submitted without any
 “Scruple. He told him, further, that it would be dif-
 “ficult to produce any Warrant, from the New Testa-
 “ment, for singing Psalms in public Worship. And
 “that the Christian Church, from the Beginning, had
 “a Regard, in many Particulars, to the *Jewish Polity*:
 “especially, in the great Festivals of Easter and Whit-
 “sunday. Supposing, what he [*Martyr*] could NOT
 “GRANT, that the Episcopal Habit and Vestments had
 “been introduced into the Church by the See of *Rome*;
 “yet he did not think the Contagion of Popery so very
 “malignant, as to carry Infection into every Thing
 “which it touched. That to govern by such narrow
 “Maxims, would lay an inconvenient Restraint on the
 “Church of God: and that our Ancestors moved much
 “more freely, who made no difficulty of turning Heathen
 “Temples into Christian Churches; and of translat-
 “ing, to pious Uses, the Revenues [once] sacred to
 “Idolatry (*e*).”—Had *Martyr*’s Coolness and Mode-
 ration

(*e*) See *Rolt’s Lives of the Reformers*, p. 115.

ration been universally prevalent in the Protestant World, how much vain Wrangling and Party-Division would it have prevented!

Bucer was no less assiduous, than *Martyr*, in respectfully combating the Pertinacity of *Hooper*. They united in assuring him, “That, in the Business of Religious Rites, they were for keeping as close as possible to the Holy SCRIPTURES, and to the most UNCORRUPT AGES of the Church: but, however, they could not go so far, as to believe, that the Substance of Religion was affected by the Clothes we wear; and they thought Things of this Nature altogether indifferent, and left to our Liberty by the Word of God (*f*).”—Thus, it incontestably appears, that these two Learned Calvinists, *Bucer* and *Martyr*, were Church of England Men, not in Word and Tongue only, but in Deed and in Truth.

Before I conclude this Section, I beg Leave to subjoin an Observation, that would more properly have fallen under the immediate Article of *Bucer*; but which, tho’ omitted in its due Place, is too important to the Design of this Undertaking, to be entirely passed over. It has been affirmed (and what is there, which some Arminians will *not* affirm?) that *Bucer* held the Doctrine of Justification by Works, and believed Human Obedience to be meritorious in the Sight of God.

That he was once of this Opinion, is not at all wonderful, when we consider that he was born and educated in the Bosom of the *Romish* Church, with whom the Tenet of Legal Justification is a fundamental Principle.

A a 2

And,

(*f*) *Rolt*, Ibid. p. 96.—N. B. Two of *Bucer*’s Letters, viz. One to *Hooper*, and another to *A Lasco*, both in Vindication of the received Modes, are extant in *Strype*’s Eccl. Mem. Vol. 2. Appendix, from p. 118, to p. 132. The whole Letter to *A Lasco* was (says Mr. *Strype*, p. 225.) “translated into *English*, and set forth, not far from the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*’s Reign, for the Use of the Church, that then was exercised afresh with the same Controversy.”

And, for a considerable Time after God had called him out of Papal Darkeness, his Improvements in Divine Knowledge were progressive. His spiritual Growth resembled the gradual Vegetation of an Oak; not the rapid Proficiency of a Mushroom. *Bucer* seems to have expressed himself the most incautiously, in the Disputation at *Leipsic*, A. D. 1539; yet, even then, he roundly declared, that “*those GOOD WORKS, to which so great a Reward is given, ARE THEMSELVES THE GIFTS OF GOD (g).*” And that Passage, which *Vossius* quotes from *Bucer*, falls extremely short of proving that the latter was, even at the early Period in which he penned it, an Assertor of Justification by Performances of our own. Impartiality obliges me to subjoin that celebrated Passage, which so many Arminians and Merit-mongers have since caught at, as if it made for the Popish Doctrine of Justification. “I cannot but wish,” said *Bucer*, in the Year 1529, “a more sound Judgement to some Persons, who have disturbed many in this our Age with this Paradox, “That we are saved by Faith only: tho’ they saw the Thing was carried so far, as to confine Righteousness only to the Opinion of the Mind, and excluding good Works. Where is their Charity, who refuse to cure this Evil, by one Word or two? It is only to say, that, when FAITH is formed, we are JUSTIFIED; and that, through Faith, we obtain a Disposition to GOOD WORKS, and, consequently, a Righteousness: or, that FAITH IS THE FOUNDATION AND ROOT OF A RIGHTEOUS LIFE, as *Augustin* said (*b*).” Is there a single Sentence, in this Paragraph, to which the strictest Calvinist would not consent? Observe the Order, in which *Bucer* arranges Faith, Justification, and Obedience. *Faith* goes before; *Justification* follows Faith; and practical *Obedience* follows Justification: we first *believe*; we no sooner believe, than we are *justified*; and the Faith, which

(g) *Rolt*, Ibid. p. 88.

(b) *Rolt*, p. 88.

which justifies, disposes us to the AFTER-Performance of *good Works*: or, in other Words, *Justifying Faith* “is
“ the *Root and Foundation of a righteous Life.*” Says not every Calvinist the same?

As *Bucer* advanced in Years and Experience, he learned to express his Idea of Justification with still greater Clearness and Precision, than he had done on some past Occasions. Finding that the Enemies of Grace had greedily lain hold of some inadvertent Phrases, and taken ungenerous Advantage of some well-meant Concessions, which he had made, before his Evangelical Light was at the full; he deemed it necessary, to *retract* such of his Positions as countenanced the Merit of Works; and to place Justification on the Scriptural Basis of the Father’s gratuitous Goodness, and the Son’s imputed Righteousness: still, however, taking care to inculcate, that the *Faith*, by which we receive the Grace of God and the Righteousness of Christ, is the certain Source of all *good Works*.—For being thus honest to his Convictions, he was loaded, by his Adversaries, with accumulated Slander and Reproach. How modestly, and forcibly, he vindicated his Conduct, may be judged from the following Passage: “The Lord,” says *Bucer*, “has given me to understand
“ some Places [of Scripture] more fully than I formerly
“ did: which, as it is so bountifully given to me, why
“ should I not impart it liberally to my Brethren, and
“ ingenuously declare the Goodness of the Lord? What
“ Inconstancy is there, in profiting in the Work of Sal-
“ vation? And who, in this Age, or in the last, has
“ treated of the Scripture, and has not experienced, that,
“ even in this Study, one Day is the Scholar of an-
“ other (*i*)?”

Indeed, no stronger Proof need be given, of *Bucer’s* soundness in the Article of Justification, than the Rapture and Admiration with which he mentions the *English Book*

of HOMILYS. "No sooner," says Mr *Strype*, "were the Homilys composed, and sent abroad; but the News thereof (and the Book itself, as it seemed, already translated into *Latin*) came to *Strasburg*, among the Protestants there: where it caused great Rejoicing. And *Bucer*, one of the chief Ministers there, wrote a Gratulatory Epistle hereupon to the Church of *England*, in November, 1547; which was printed the Year after. Therein, that Learned and Moderate Man shewed, *How these pious Sermons were come among them, wherein the People were so godly and effectually exhorted to the Reading of the Holy Scriptures; and FAITH was so well explained, whereby we become Christians; and JUSTIFICATION, whereby we are saved; and the other chief Heads of Christian Religion so soundly handled. And therefore, as he added, these Foundations being rightly laid, there could nothing be wanting in our Churches, requisite towards the building hereupon sound Doctrine and Discipline.* He commended much the Homily of Faith, the Nature and Force of which was so clearly and soberly discussed; and wherein it was so well distinguished from the Faith that was dead. He much approved of the Manner of treating concerning the Misery and Death, we are all lapsed into, by the Sin of our first Parent; and how we are rescued from this Perdition, ONLY by the GRACE of God, and by the MERIT and Resurrection of his Son (k)."

No Wonder, that this excellent Man was, soon after, called into *England*, to assist in perfecting that Reformation, whose Beginnings he so heartily approved. When here, vast Deference was paid to his Judgment and Advice, by *Cranmer* and the other Protestant Bishops. This is confessed, even by *Burnet* himself; whose words are, "About the End of this Year [1550], or the Beginning of the next, there was a Review made of the Common-
 " Prayer

(k) *Strype's Memorials Ecclesiastical*, Vol. II. p. 31, 32.

“ Prayer Book.—*Martin Bucer* was consulted in it :
 “ and *Aleſſe* tranſlated it into *Latin* for his [i. e. for *Bucer*’s]
 “ Uſe. Upon which, *Bucer* writ his Opinion ; which
 “ he finiſhed, the 5th of January in the Year following :
 “ — — — And, almoſt in every Particular, the moſt
 “ material Things, which *Bucer* excepted to, were cor-
 “ rected afterwards (*l*).” This Acknowledgement of
 Biſhop *Burnet*’s confirms what is delivered by *Guthrie* :
 who, in His *Engliſh Hiſtory*, obſerves, concerning *BUCER*
 and *PETER MARTYR*, That “ *Their AUTHORITY was*
 “ GREAT in England (*m*).”

(*l*) *Burnet’s Hiſt. Reformat.* Vol. II. p. 147, 148.

(*m*) See *Roll*, p. 115.

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